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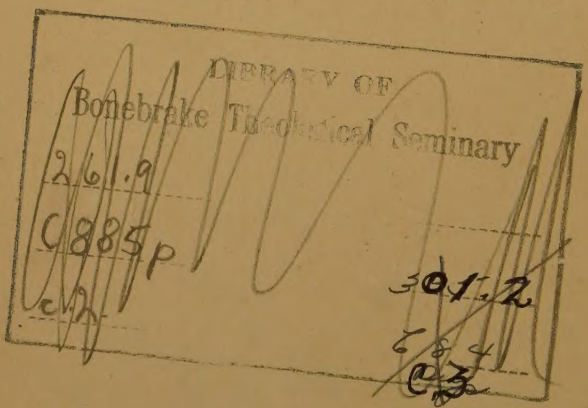

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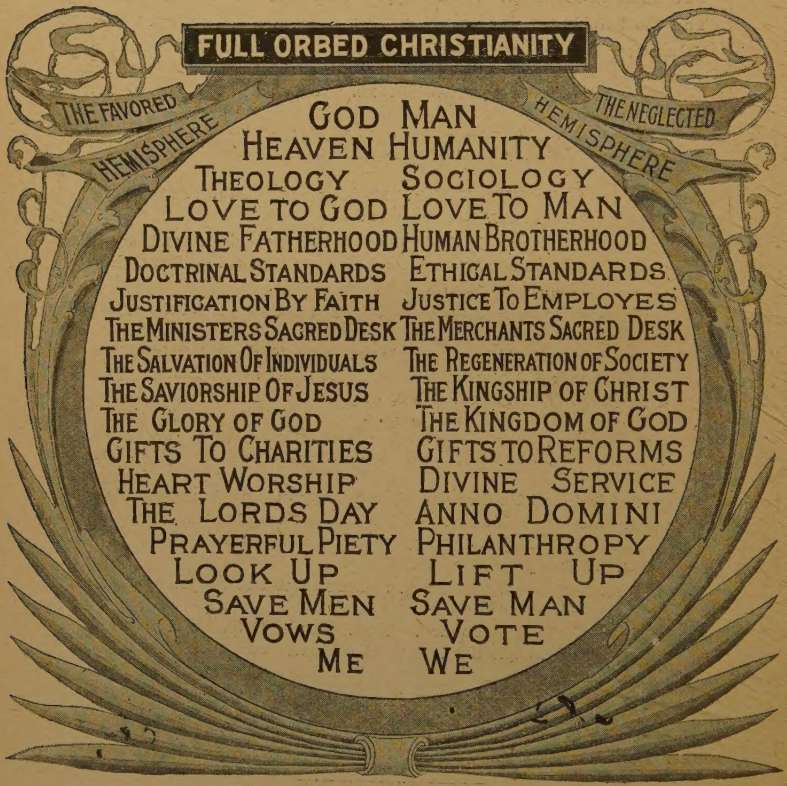
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PRACTICAL CHRISTIAN SOCIOLOGY

A SERIES OF

SPECIAL LECTURES BEFORE PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AND MARIETTA COLLEGE

WITH SUPPLEMENTAL NOTES AND APPENDIXES

BY

REV. WILBUR F. CRAFTS, Ph. D.

Superintendent National Bureau of Reforms,
Author of "The Sabbath for Man," "The Civil Sabbath," "The Temperance Century," "Successful Men of To-day," "Reading the Bible with Relish," etc.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

JOSEPH COOK, LL. D.

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Nothing is fair or good alone.
—EMERSON: *All and Each*

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TO ALL WHO FOLLOW CHRIST,

WHETHER IN TEACHING OR IN TOIL, THE AUTHOR DEDICATES

THIS EFFORT

TO SOLVE THE LABOR QUESTION AND OTHER SOCIAL PROBLEMS,

BY HIS TEACHINGS.

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PROEM.

LOVE.

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart.
Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.

Most men know love but as a part of life;
They hide it in some corner of the breast,
Even from themselves; and only when they rest
In the brief pauses of that daily strife,
Wherewith the world might else be not so rife,
They draw it forth (as one draws forth a toy
To soothe some ardent, kiss-exacting boy)
And hold it up to sister, child, or wife.
Ah, me! why may not life and love be one?
Why walk we thus alone, when by our side
Love, like a visible God, might be our guide?
How would the marts grow noble, and the street,
Worn like a dungeon floor by weary feet,
Seem then a golden courtway of the sun.

HENRY TIMROD.

INTRODUCTION.

REV. WILBUR F. CRAFTS, PH. D.

MUCH of what the author says in this book is of the nature of expert testimony, the value of which is enhanced by the history of the witness. He is wont to say that he was born a twin of the Maine law, in the same State, in the same year, and almost of the same father. Mr. Crafts' father, a preacher, was the writer of one of the rallying songs of Neal Dow's first campaign, and also a fearless opponent of slavery, notwithstanding the withdrawal of support by proslavery parishioners. Our author was, therefore, a reformer born, rich in an inheritance of moral heroism received through heredity and early training and the environment of a State in which, in all his childhood, he saw neither saloon nor drunkard.

When politics first came into our author's life as an influence, in the days of Fremont and John Brown, national issues were not questions of commerce but of conscience. The conquering elements of politics then boldly avowed allegiance to the Decalogue and the Golden Rule. It was felt by the most efficient reformers to be a momentous truth that man can neither make nor break law—though it may break him. He can only translate the one supreme law into its applications to current affairs.

Our author's first temperance lecture was delivered at fifteen, when he was a sophomore in college and already an active member of temperance societies. At seventeen, he preached his first sermon from a text that has proved to be the key-note of his practical ministry, "Faith without works is dead." In his earlier pastorates, Mr. Crafts' unusual success in his own Sunday-school led to his being often called to write and speak as a specialist on Sunday-school work, in connection with Dr. (now Bishop) J. H. Vincent and others. It was thus, in writing *Through the Eye to the Heart*, his first book, as joint author with Miss Sara J. Timanus, that he came to form with her a "Sunday-school Union" for life. By both voice and pen, Mrs. Crafts has herself done a remarkable work for

Sunday-schools, temperance, and other reforms, besides being a priceless inspiration to her husband and wide circles of friends.

Mr. Crafts' activity in reform as a pastor, down to 1883, was chiefly as a temperance writer and speaker. When pastor of one of the strongest churches of Chicago, in 1877–79, he was active in the Citizens' League, whose success in its special work of preventing the sale of liquor to minors he proved by a night inspection of one hundred saloons, in all of which only three minors were found. Four hundred had been counted in a single saloon at one time before the league began its work. During that pastorate the red ribbon of the Reynolds Reform Clubs was sewed permanently to the buttonhole of his pulpit coat, a significant signal to all who saw it. During that same pastorate he wrote for the National Temperance Society a temperance compend, since rewritten as *The Temperance Century*. A year in Europe and Bible Lands (1879-80), deepened our author's temperance convictions.

Brooklyn and New York City were Mr. Crafts' next fields of work. In these cities he made for himself denominational changes, from Methodist to Congregational and then to Presbyterian, connections. These changes were due not to any alteration of doctrinal belief, but to providential calls, and were made easy by years of work as a Sunday-school specialist in union conventions which emphasized the essentials of evangelical agreement and not the divisive non-essentials. Our author has been changeless from first to last on the great doctrines of religion and reform. Such plausible heterodoxes as high license and the Göthenburg plan have never drawn him aside.

While a pastor in Brooklyn, he preached and published a series of sermons on *Successful Men of To-day*, which has attained a circulation of nearly forty thousand. In this book he began a study of modern business methods which has since been more fully developed in his lectures on sociology.

On becoming pastor of a Presbyterian Church in New York City in 1883, our author planned a series of sermons on the Sabbath. Finding little literature in defense of the perpetual and universal authority of the Fourth Commandment—no book later than Gilfillan's, written twenty-two years before, when Sunday trains and Sunday papers were nearly or quite unknown—he undertook to gather fresh material for his people by sending a circular of inquiries to all parts of the world. That series of sermons, preached and reported in New York, again preached and reported in Chicago, grew into the author's best known book, *The Sabbath for Man*.

Mr. Crafts continued in his New York pastorate for five years, giving to reform only such aid as a busy pastor might. His studies of the Sabbath led him to appreciate keenly the wickedness of the effort made by liquor dealers all over the country, in the winter of 1887-88, to unite their forces in one vast system of "Liberty Leagues" to capture the Sabbath for the saloon. The American Sabbath Union, as stated in its first official document and in more recent official sketches of its origin, grew out of a petition circulated by our author among the leaders of Sabbath reform, by which, in the spring of 1888, the various ecclesiastical bodies were induced to combine in an official union organization to defend the Sabbath against its foes. Our author, preferring above all other pursuits the work of a pastor, hoped such an organization would take off his heart the burden he felt for the imperiled Sabbath. In con-

nection with the development of this organization, he visited the Methodist General Conference and three Presbyterian Assemblies, all of which appointed their quota of charter members for the Union, as did fourteen evangelical denominations in all. Most of these also petitioned, at his suggestion, for the enactment by Congress of a law against Sunday mails and Sunday trains. This movement our author was then promoting, in cooperation with Mrs. J. C. Bateham of the W. C. T. U. In behalf of it he conducted a hearing in the spring of 1888, before the Committee of Education and Labor of the United States Senate. Senator Blair, Chairman of the Committee, called attention privately to the fact that the petitions did not include labor unions, and suggested that they should be enlisted in this effort.

Thus our author, who had been led by the study of temperance into Sabbath reform, was led through Sabbath reform into labor reform. He asked the privilege of speaking on Sunday work to the Central Labor Union of New York City. There was some fear that "the parson" would inflict a sermon upon the meeting, but wiser expectations prevailed. He was welcomed, and the petition against Sunday mails and Sunday trains was unanimously indorsed. This first address to a labor union having passed off successfully, the doors to all other such bodies were thereafter open to him. During that year he spoke with like welcome and indorsement at the national meetings of the Knights of Labor and Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, besides many local labor unions.

Mr. Crafts' advocacy of a six-day law became a help to the eight-hour law for letter-carriers. When he spoke to the Senate's committee, that eight-hour bill, just passed by the House, was before the committee. The postmaster-general had said to our author that it would probably not pass the Senate. But the committee, while not ready to stop Sunday trains, were led to favor the eight-hour law by the facts our author cited as to the excessive hours of work required of carriers. The law being secured, our author uncovered plots to punish the New York carriers who had led the movement by dismission on other pretexts, and plots to nullify the law in that city by scheduling carriers to do in eight hours as much as they had formerly done in ten or more. In response to written complaints which our author carried to Washington from four hundred New York carriers, an investigation was ordered which led to a strict compliance with the law. On account of the part our author had played in securing the enactment of the eight-hour law, he was one of the speakers, with Father McGlynn and "Sunset" Cox, in the "Carriers' Eight-hour Jubilee." Later, an address at the People's Church in St. Paul on the Sabbath question, which included references to the dangerous current combinations of capital, led to his being invited by the labor unions of St. Paul to speak to their Labor Day parade. For seven years, as associate editor with the undersigned on *Our Day*, Mr. Crafts further discussed in many trenchant papers not only temperance and the Sabbath but also the labor problem.

On January 1, 1889, our author was elected Field Secretary of the American Sabbath Union, and a year later was reelected to a secretaryship devoted chiefly to office duties, and which he resigned in the spring of 1890, in order to be free to write and speak in all parts of the land.

Sabbath reform, having led Mr. Crafts to discuss labor reform, led him next into the anti-lottery crusade. He introduced his first speech in New Orleans by saying: "Louisiana once had two blots on her fair

fame—the absence of a Sabbath law, and the presence of a lottery law. The first blot has been removed, and in three years there will be opportunity to remove the other." That was all that was said of the lottery, but after a half-hour address on the Sabbath, the preachers, instead of discussing that subject, began to explain why they had or had not preached on the lottery. The law of that time was seen to be ineffective, and our author exposed its weakness by writing to Postmaster-general Wanamaker, who turned the letter over to Attorney-general Miller, who at once wrote that he would see that a better law was drawn, and so began the National Anti-lottery Crusade. Mr. Crafts sent twenty-five thousand copies of a *Lottery Broadside* to Louisiana and North Dakota, when their anti-lottery crusades were on, and for aid in this and other ways received a vote of thanks from the Woman's Anti-lottery League of Louisiana.

Our author's election in the fall of 1891 to the editorship of *The Christian Statesman*, a paper devoted to the whole circle of Christian reforms, led him to study, besides the reforms already named, questions pertaining to ballot reform, civil service, Roman Catholicism, Church and State, Christian politics, divorce, impurity and Mormonism, immigration, municipal reform, law and order, woman's suffrage, peace and arbitration.

Such studies have reached their unique culmination in the establishment by our author of the National Bureau of Reforms at Washington, which aims to be a clearing-house for all the Christian reform movements of the country, and seeks to cooperate, as the only Christian reform organization of national scope in the national Capital, with all living Christian movements for the social betterment of society. During the sessions of Congress, our author may justly be called the speaker of "the third house," a Christian lobbyist—"may his tribe increase!"

Hardly second in importance to this work is Mr. Crafts' mission as a lecturer on practical Christian sociology before our colleges and seminaries.

In the civic municipal revival of 1895, he spoke almost as frequently on municipal reform as on Sabbath reform movements, which are so closely related through the Sunday saloon that one continually leads to the other.

One chief value of this book is in the fact that it has been written after detailed study at all the leading American cities and of every prominent phase of our current industrial and social life. More than eighty thousand miles of travel in our own country within the last six years, besides two extensive trips abroad, have enabled our author to make these lectures an authoritative and strategic discussion of "Practical Christian Sociology."

JOSEPH COOK.

CHICAGO, *En Route* to Australia, May 25, 1895.

Letters on the Lectures, from the Princeton Seminary Faculty.

Princeton, February 15, 1895.

My Dear Mr. Crafts:

The Faculty of the Seminary have wished me to express to you their appreciation of the lectures on Social Problems which you delivered to the students last week, and their thanks to you for the course. We recognize the wide study which you have given to these subjects, and the large number of valuable facts which you have collected. We recognize also in your treatment of the facts the caution and the desire to be fair and thorough which are necessary for a proper discussion of such practical and important topics. You seem to us bent on apprehending the whole truth and in doing justice to all sides of each case. We are especially gratified by your presentation of the idea that religion as well as economic science has a part to do in the solution of social problems, and we believe that our students will be better prepared by your lectures to exert the proper influence in social and civil relations which is possible to ministers of the Gospel. We congratulate you heartily on the ability you showed in the preparation of your lectures, and feel sure that you have done a most useful work in delivering them before the Seminary. Please accept our thanks.

Very sincerely yours,

George T. Purves.

Princeton, February 18, 1895.

Rev. Mr. Crafts:

Dear Sir: I wish to say to you how highly I, in common with my colleagues and your auditors generally, appreciated the brief course of lectures which you have delivered at the Seminary on sociology. The practical acquaintance which you manifested with the numerous and complicated questions arising under this theme surprised and delighted me. The wise reserve shown in avoiding hasty and inconsiderate judgments upon matters that require further investigation, and the impartial attitude taken in regard to matters which have led to serious strife and agitation, cannot be too highly commended. And the high-toned Christian principle which marked the entire discussion, without running off into extravagance and excess, inspired confidence in the solution which must thus be ultimately reached. There is but one feeling among us, that of high gratification that we have been permitted to hear these instructive and valuable lectures, and we are greatly obliged to you for consenting to deliver them to our students.

Very truly yours,

W. Henry Green.

L. F. WARD, *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1895:

The word sociology first appeared in print in its French form, *sociologie*, in the fourth volume of Auguste Comte's *Positive Philosophy*, the first edition of which was published in 1839. . . The world is certainly greatly indebted to Comte for this word, as it is also for that other useful word of his, altruism. Although the word sociology is derived from both Latin and Greek, still it is fully justified by the absence in the Greek language of the most essential component. While it need not altogether replace the virtually synonymous expression, social science, it can be used in many cases where that could not. . . We all know what an improvement physics has been upon natural philosophy, and biology upon natural history. Sociology stands in about the same relation to the old philosophy of history. . . Comte found that there were five great groups of phenomena of equal classificatory value, but of successively decreasing positivity [while of ever-increasing rank]. To these he gave the names, astronomy [his term for mathematics], physics, chemistry, biology [Spencer and Ward add here psychology], sociology [to which the author would add, as highest of all, theology]. . . Comte's conception [of sociology] . . . makes it . . . embrace everything that pertains to man as a social being. . . Economics . . ethnology, ethnography, and demography, with other attendant branches of anthropology . . . each of these has its specialized phenomena to be set aside and cultivated as separate departments . . . and the field is cleared for the calm contemplation of the central problem of determining the facts, the law, and the principles of human association.—Pp. 16, 17, 19, 22, 25.

SHAILER MATTHEWS, *The American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1895:

Just as the philosophies bearing these names [Hegelian, Aristotelian, Baconian] are respectively the gifts of Hegel and Aristotle and Bacon, so Christian sociology should mean the *sociology of Christ;* that is, the social philosophy and teachings of Christ.—P. 70.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

As an associate editor of *Our Day*, the author published, in its June number of 1894, an *Outline of Christian Sociology* designed to guide the studies of sociological institutes. It was so cordially commended by such leaders as Professor R. T. Ely, Dr. Josiah Strong, Professor J. R. Commons, and Mr. W. M. F. Round, that the author was persuaded to develop its suggestions into a course of lectures, which were first delivered February 4–8, 1895, at Princeton Theological Seminary, on invitation of the Faculty, whose unqualified approval is quoted on the preceding page as showing that the lectures—which are published without material change—fairly represent the attitude of conservative evangelical Christians toward current social problems, as indeed might be shown more at length, if it were necessary, by quoting like approvals evoked by the lectures as subsequently delivered in other places.

Numerous foot-notes and appendixes have been added, partly confirmatory of the author's statements, partly supplementary and illustrative, many of them indicating briefly opposite or variant views, or suggesting where further facts and theories may be found on the themes here treated, necessarily, with the utmost brevity. The author's purpose has been to give an outlook upon Christian sociology to those busy pastors and Christian workingmen who have neither time nor money for extensive sociological studies—a comprehensive *survey*, not topography and geography ; to furnish not only an introduction and compend for the study of society from a Christian standpoint, but, preeminently, a practical working handbook to guide in its Christianization.

Although Dr. Stuckenberg, so far back as 1880, discussed the social relations of Christians to each other in an able book entitled *Christian Sociology*, the present volume, so far as the author knows, is the first published treatise on Christian Sociology as the term is now generally understood. The book is but the blazing of a trail into a virgin forest which others will more fully explore.

Wilbur F. Crafts.

NATIONAL BUREAU OF REFORMS,

WASHINGTON, D. C., *July* 4, 1895.

JAMES ORR, D. D., *The Christian Idea of God and the World:* I cannot but agree with those who think that the kingdom of God, in Christ's view, is a present, developing reality. This is implied in the parables of growth (mustard seed, leaven, seed growing secretly); in the representations of it, in its earthly form, as a mixture of good and bad (wheat and tares, the net of fishes); in the description of the righteousness of the kingdom (Sermon on the Mount), which is to be realized in the ordinary human relations, as well as in many special sayings. . . On the other hand the idea has an eschatological reference. The kingdom is not something which humanity produces by its own efforts, but something which comes to it from above. It is the entrance into humanity of a new life from heaven. In its origin, its powers, its blessings, its aims, its end it is supernatural and heavenly. Hence it is the kingdom of heaven, and two stadia are distinguished in its existence—an earthly and an eternal. —Pp. 405, 406.

AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION.

ALL reforms are relations. So are vices. Although specialists are more needed than ever before, one-idea reforms belong to the individualistic ages of the past. Steam and electricity have socialized the world. Vices quickly recognized this sign of the times, and became "liberty leagues." Reforms more slowly formed "unions."

Too much is commonly claimed by the one-idea reformer for his pet reform. Social ills cannot all be remedied by a single cure-all, nor by a single doctor, not even by the one whose sign we saw in a Kansas hotel, "Specialist in all chronic diseases." Small and Vincent's *Introduction to the Study of Society* (p. 74) bids us remember that "social improvement thus far has been by cooperation of many ameliorative forces," a historical basis for the numerous reform movements which have of late adopted what foreign critics of the W. C. T. U. call "the do-everything policy."

"It is well," says *The Interior*, "that ideas of moral reform have broadened out. They have for an age and a half been limited to temperance. By broadening the platform and making temperance only a plank in it, temperance is greatly strengthened. The gambling den, social purity, political and civil morality—each one of these brings its special advocates into a common cause, and gives to each line of reform the united strength of the active forces of all lines. There is no danger that they will fail to combine against the saloon—which antagonizes equally the progress of any and every moral reform."

The forty departments of the W. C. T. U. include the ripest one-fourth of current reforms. The King's Daughters are another "do-everything" society. The Endeavor good citizenship movement, the programs of the Evangelical Alliance conferences, the institutional churches, the university settlements, all aim at many reforms, not one only.

Individuals who enter upon practical study of any one reform usually find themselves led into another and another. Miss Willard starts out to study temperance, and becomes also the special advocate of labor, of purity, of all Christian reforms; putting more statesmanship in her annual review of public affairs than any Governor or President dares to put into his annual message. So, again, Professor Richard T. Ely starts to study labor, and presently is writing temperance tracts. John Burns and Hon. T. V. Powderly also come to be temperance advocates through labor leadership. Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell devotes her great talents to the new science of charity, and presently is the Joan of Arc in the victorious sweaters' strike.

In Chicago and New Orleans working men start out to secure emanci-

pation from Sunday slavery, with no thought of becoming "temperance fanatics," but finding the Sunday saloons the center of the forces that resist their rightful demand, they make the closing of saloons a prominent part of their program, and learn also the fallacy of the saloon's pretense of friendship for labor.

Municipal reform, when it is ripe, will include in its attacks, as the united forces of its foes, the liquor traffic and drinking usages, gambling in all its forms, impurity, injustice to labor, unrestricted immigration, the spoils system, and wilful pauperism. The "ring" attacked is found, on close fighting, to include this whole circle of vices, against which must be marshaled the whole circle of Christian reforms.

This book aims to coordinate all these reforms as parts of one great reform—the reform which is the consummation of religion—namely, the Christianizing of society, which is "the kingdom of God," to the establishment of which, not to personal salvation merely, "the chosen people" of both Testaments are divinely, but not yet effectually, called.

How like a bugle-call from the sky sounds the divine cry, "Who will stand up for me against the workers of iniquity?" One reason why this divine call is not more effectual is that God's army, as in the days of Gideon, has too many in it—of the cowardly and selfish, who cannot stand the water test, whether at church time or election time. The Gallios that don't care if the battling apostles are beaten in both senses of the word, are too many of them *inside* the Church. To return to the central thought of this Introduction, we note that the fundamental difficulty (which this book seeks to remove) is that too many are only fractional Christians, fractional reformers. Many of them, in their imitation of Christ, have learned his meekness from a monk, who retreated from the battle of life, but have overlooked the two-edged sword in his mouth. Not a few sincere Christian reformers have only one edge to their swords. They fight "the ring," but spare the rum—indeed surrender to it not only the week but the Sabbath.

One of the chief encouragements to reform writing and speaking is that the reformer daily finds offenders that need only "the arrest of thought." In more than a score of instances a brief word of mine about Sunday mails, in a union meeting, has caused the immediate Sabbath closing of the post-office by local petition. A word even to the unwise is often sufficient.

Just as we are penning these last words of this book comes another encouragement in the smashing of the slate of the Emperor of the Empire State by Hon. Warner Miller, who would not consent to the silence of the New York Republican platform of 1895 on the leading issue of the hour, the question whether the Sabbath should be surrendered to the saloon, but rallied the rank and file to his own triumphant leadership in declaring for "the maintenance of the American Sunday in the interests of labor and morality." The incident is of far-reaching significance, as showing that the people will follow better leaders to nobler battles for Christ and humanity, if such leaders will but summon them in His Name.

September 23, 1895.

SYLLABUS OF LECTURES.

GENERAL SUBJECT: PRACTICAL CHRISTIAN SOCIOLOGY.

I. From the Standpoint of the Church.

Humanitarianism and spirituality in Christ's teachings. Christian sociology anticipated and defined. Relation to the Kingship of Christ. The universality of his law. The Kingship of Christ as related to the Saviorship of Christ in the Bible. The Lord's Day the "sign" of Christ's Lordship. In what sense the Kingship of Christ is the Bible's ultimate theme. Neglect of it in the Church to-day, and reasons therefor. Individual conversions the necessary prelude of social regeneration, although unable to accomplish it alone. The Old Testament message chiefly a social one. That of the New first, but not finally, to the individual. The socializing influence, in post-biblical history, of the Christian idea of the individual's relations and rights. The Reformation a renaissance of intellectual and spiritual individuality. Its controlling influence in the making of America. Its ethical and social deficiencies. The new era of conflicting and cooperating social and individualistic tendencies introduced by the discoveries of steam power, political power, and political equality in the eighteenth century. The nineteenth century's awakening, progress, and problems. The growth of social evils due in part to the Church's failure to apprehend its social functions. The power of sacred individuality to be held fast, but social evils to be adequately treated only by social action of united churches. Their duty to "the new charity." Institutional churches. State and national federation of churches for social reform. Proposed union of all Christians in a world-circle of social reform conventions to celebrate approaching completion of nineteen Christian centuries.

II. From the Standpoint of the Family and Education.

(*a*) THE FAMILY.—Purity and Home both Christian. Purity more important than property. The family the sociological unit. How the decadence of home promotes social evils. Its foundation, monogamy, to be defended against Mormonism and unscriptural divorce. Polygamy

never sanctioned, but always uprooted by the Bible. The pretty sayings of heathen religions at the Parliament of Religions as affected by their treatment of women. The present status of Mormonism. Divorce statistics. Hon. Carroll D. Wright's argument for other than scriptural permissions for divorce answered. The multiplication of divorces a national, not sectional, evil. Arguments for and against a national marriage and divorce law. State commissions. Other remedies. "Girl bachelors." Society's chief interest in the family, child-training. Heredity. The honor of parenthood. Delicacy and difficulty of teaching on this subject. Impure talk. "Morals *versus* art." The dance and theater. Hygienic education for girls. Intemperance as related to the family. Motherhood, the "struggle for the life of others." Family affection increased by Christianity. Power of child-training as compared to heredity. Home as a school of obedience. Woman's work and child-labor as related to family life. Social clubs. Why mothers should study civics and sociology. Woman suffrage considered. Home worship. Home department of the Sabbath-school. "Ministers' sons and deacons' daughters." The Sabbath as the Home Day.

(*b*) EDUCATION.—Child-saving institutions which are both home and school. Danger of making it too easy for parents to transfer to others the care of their children. A reform school "kindergarten" of "incorrigibles." Parental shirking not confined to the poor. Promoted by *per capita* appropriations to sectarian institutions. The placing-out plan better than the congregate plan. Improvements in placing out. Essential moral education embarrassed by state aid. But compulsory state action needed to complete the work. Industrial education. Fresh Air Fund and kindred summer charities for children. The common schools as related to parents of pupils. "The school question." Proposed division of the school funds. Roman Catholic claim not withdrawn. What it is. How it differs from the historic American theory as to moral education. An instance of harmonious teaching of Christian morals by Protestants and Roman Catholics in cooperation. Scientific temperance education. Hygienic necessity of Sabbath rest to be added. Additional moral education as to gambling proposed. Colleges as centers of reform influence. University extension in the form of lectures. Other out-of-school studies. Reform topics suggested for sociological institutes. University settlements described. Their relation to religion. The newspaper as an educator.

III. From the Standpoint of Capital and Labor.

Justice the industrial issue. Injustice in current distribution admitted. The issue is seen in the Carnegie strike. Not capitalists but capitalism

accused. Insufficiency of materialistic motive in labor reform. Justice in wages and prices. Justice in work. Labor unions' defense of skimping work. Injustice of sympathetic strikes. Labor trust attempted. Final triumph of industrial justice assured. In view of its slow approach, patience with aspiration should be the attitude of the poor. And an increased charity the characteristic of the rich. The "new charity" and the newest. The problem of the unemployed. How it is affected by the rush to cities. General Booth's "farm colonies." What American cities have done recently for the unemployed. State employment bureaus. "The poor man's bank." How liquor funds, if otherwise spent, would greatly increase employment. Pending the achievement of industrial justice Christian conferences of capital and labor needed. Conflict delays the right issue. Relation of low wages to low morals. Attitude of collegians and Christians toward new reforms. Labor conferences of Emperor William and Dr. Washington Gladden.

IV. From the Standpoint of Capital and Labor, Continued.

Labor problems should be studied historically rather than prophetically. Utopias of doubtful utility. The "independent farmer" of the individualistic past as contrasted with the independent farmer of to-day. The new era of social production, introduced by the discovery of steam. Industrial "liberty" and political economy discredited by cruelties of British employers. Socialistic remedies of our century. Socialism defined. Weakness of its ultimate program. Its immediate program more favored. Arguments urged in behalf of government ownership of railroads. Cooperation of churches and labor unions in behalf of the Rest Day.

V. From the Standpoint of Citizenship.

Civil officers "ministers of God." The civil Kingship of Christ theoretically accepted by our people. American theory of Church and State. Sectarian appropriations. Sabbath closing of the World's Fair by Congress. "The Christian Amendment." I. Political reforms possible under existing laws: Exalting the ethical character of political action. The pulpit's true relation to politics. Political toleration to be preached. Impartial sermons on great political principles. The minister's duty and rights as a citizen. Government of the people is through officers elected at the polls but selected at the primaries. Use and abuse of parties. Primaries necessary to party action. To be improved rather than abolished. Good nominators necessary in order to good nominations. New political machinery, such as ballot reform, not sufficient. The independent's right in the primary. Lawlessness compared with

anarchy. Law-makers as law-breakers. Law-breaking at the World's Fair. By the Sunday papers also. By New York bribers of police. Anarchistic governors. American mayors. City government by council favored. The sale of indulgences to law-breakers. Municipal reform must oppose the mixing, not only of national politics, but also of saloon politics, with city elections. The issue not legislative, but executive. Relative powers of mayor, sheriff, governor. Instances of law enforcement in spite of unfaithful mayors. How judges may aid social reforms, especially in naturalization. II. Political betterments through improved legislation : 1. Laws needed for purifying citizenship. Negro suffrage. Indian suffrage. The immigrant vote. Chinese exclusion. 2. Laws needed to protect the purity of elections. Our large venal vote. New form of bribery under ballot reform. 3. Laws needed to guard the purity of public office. 4. Laws needed to protect the purity of legislation. Election of senators by the people. State and city legislatures. Tariff. Currency. Income tax. Internal revenue laws. License laws. Proportional representation. The referendum. Constitutional amendment needed. "The Third House." The Sabbath as the weekly Independence Day.

Dr. Benjamin Rush: He who shall introduce into public affairs the principles of primitive Christianity will change the face of the world.

Professor Richard T. Ely, Ph. D.: The remedy for social discontent and dynamite bombs is Christianity as taught in the New Testament.

Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner U. S. Department of Labor: I believe that in the adoption of the philosophy of the religion of Jesus Christ as a practical creed for the conduct of business lies the surest and speediest solution of those industrial difficulties which are exciting the minds of men to-day, and leading many to think that the crisis of government is at hand.

William Ewart Gladstone: Talk about the questions of the day; there is but one question and that is the Gospel. It can and will correct everything needing correction.

Louis Kossuth: If the doctrines of Christianity which are found in the New Testament could be applied to human society, I believe the social problem could be got at.—*Quoted, Christianity Practically Applied*, I. 463.

R. S. MacArthur, D. D.: We do not want an unchristian philanthropy; neither ought we to have an unphilanthropic Christianity.—*In Christian Work.*

Pastor Frederick Neumann, *Frankfort, Germany:* I am convinced that if Jesus were among us now he would deal less with the blind than with the unemployed, for the misery of the workless is greater than the misery of the blind.

In the desert of dry economic discussion we shall hear once more the cry of the Psalmist, "As the heart panteth after the water-brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God." Faith, long repressed, shall burst forth with a gladness as of long-locked waters. We shall know at last that we must be in Christ before we can work with Christ.—*Quoted from The Outlook*, March 30, 1895.

Thomas Carlyle: The Speaking Function, this of Truth coming to us with a living voice, nay in a living shape, and as a concrete practical exemplar: this, with all our Writing and Printing Function, has a perennial place. Could he but find the point again,—take the old spectacles off his nose, and looking up discover, almost in contact with him, what the real Satanas and soul-devouring, world-devouring Devil, now is! Original Sin and such like are bad enough, I doubt not; but distilled Gin, dark Ignorance, Stupidity, dark Corn-Law, Bastile and Company, what are they? Will he discover our new real Satan, whom he has to fight; or go on droning through his old nose spectacles about old extinct Satans; and never see the real one, till he feel him at his own throat and ours? That is the question for the world.—*Past and Present, Book iv. Ch.* 1.

REV. DR. JOSIAH STRONG
AUTHOR "NEW ERA" SECRETARY EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE
LADY HENRY SOMERSET
PRESIDENT BRITISH W. T. A.
DR. JOSEPH COOK
BOSTON MONDAY LECTURER.
MARY LOW DICKINSON
SECRETARY KING'S DAUGHTERS, PRESIDENT, WOMAN'S COUNCIL

PRINCETON LECTURES
ON
PRACTICAL CHRISTIAN SOCIOLOGY.

I. FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. THE humanitarianism of the Sermon on the Mount was not proclaimed by Christ until the second year of his ministry. It was preceded, in the first year, by the sermon on *worship* at Jacob's Well, and that was preceded by the sermon to Nicodemus on *regeneration*, and that was preceded by the proclamation of *atonement* at the very beginning of Christ's ministry in the greeting of John the Baptist, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world." Note Christ's order: atonement, regeneration, worship, humanitarianism. We should neither *begin* with humanitarianism nor *end* with worship. Christ's Humanitarianism.

The Christian development of human individuality is the spinal cord in the history of civilization; but the hour is come for Christian sociology, which is the study of society from a Christian standpoint with a view to its Christianization.[1]

§ 2. The heart of Christian sociology is the Kingship of Christ. The individual is saved by his cross, but society is saved by his crown, that is, by the application of the law of Christ to all human associations—to the family, the school, the shop, the Church, the state. Kingship of Christ.

NOTE.—The figures in the text refer to notes in the Appendix.

§ 3. The law of Christ, which is to be thus applied, includes more than that trilogy of love, the "new commandment," the Golden Rule, and the Royal Law. Those two words of Christ, "My commandments," include many other New Testament laws. The general opinion that there are only ten commandments is not more unscriptural than that equally common opinion that the Decalogue is not strictly a part of the law of Christ. It is his not only in that he indorsed it,[2] but also in that he originally proclaimed it. The Divine Person who gave the law on Sinai was *seen*[3] and therefore the *Son*, for "No man hath seen God [that is, the Father] at any time; the only begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared [or revealed] him."[4]

Law of Christ.

But when the laws and law principles of the Old Testament have been added to those of the New, we have not yet before us the complete law of Christ, which includes also the so-called "laws of Nature," "the Oldest Testament," of which Christ is divinely declared to be the author. "In the beginning was the Word. The world was made by him, and the world knew him not."[5] Nor does it yet know Christ as its Creator. Although John three times declares that "the world was made by him," who was "made flesh and dwelt among us"; and although the book of Hebrews twice declares the same; and although Paul in Colossians, which presents Christ as King of the Cosmos as well as King of the Church, proclaims that in him were all things created, and that with him all creation is filled, and that by him all things "hold together," yet how seldom to a child's curious questions about the great world does anyone answer "Jesus made it"! He is known as the author of "the *new* creation," only—as Redeemer, but not as Creator. If the so-called "Apostles' Creed," which is partly responsible for the exclusion of Christ from the work of

creation, is to be made truly apostolic, in view of the foregoing words of apostles we must change a word and say, "I believe in God the Father, Almighty, Maker of Heaven and earth *through* Jesus Christ His only begotten Son, our Lord." Natural science, by its evidences of design, order, and progress, proves mind in nature; Scripture proclaims that mind to be "the mind of Christ," whom we disobey whenever we disregard a law written in our bodies as surely as if it were written in our Bible.

§ 4. The most serious error that has come down to us from the Middle Ages, one of much greater harmfulness than many theological and ecclesiastical errors more discussed, is the unwarranted, unscriptural division of life into "sacred" and "secular,"[6] the double standard of piety, as unwarranted as the double standard of purity—the attempted withdrawal of the larger part of life from the crown of Christ, to which by right it is all equally subject. His Kingdom includes the mineral kingdom, and so silver legislation; the vegetable and animal kingdom, and so the county fairs; as well as the spiritual kingdom, to which, rather than the animal kingdom, man really belongs by right of his highest faculties.

"Secular" and "Sacred."

The venerable Emperor William I. of Germany, addressing school children, asked, "To what kingdom does this stone belong?" "To the mineral kingdom," was the reply. "And to what kingdom this flower?" "To the vegetable kingdom." "And to what kingdom do I belong?" The children, wiser than their books, instinctively refused to classify their emperor with animals. After a brief silence a child said reverently, "To *God's* Kingdom, Sire," a fact of which *our* political leaders also need to be reminded.

Let a little child lead us to effective protest against the unchristian and unscientific classification of man with

animals. Vegetables have mineral elements, and animals have vegetable elements, but both are classified by their highest faculties. So man should be classified, not by his lower, animal qualities, but by his higher, spiritual powers. Science, as voiced in recent presidential addresses of the British Association, finds God in the universe, and must therefore add to its classification *a spiritual kingdom*, to which man also as the son of God belongs by right of his highest faculties. This spiritual kingdom includes all and only those who can *know* as well as obey the divine law. The *fellowship* of those who not instinctively but voluntarily adopt this law of our Savior-Lord is the essence of the Church, the standpoint from which we view social problems in this lecture.

§ 5. In order to solve social problems, which call for social action, the Church needs to be reminded that the Kingship of Christ as the salvation of society and the Saviorship of Christ in its relation to the individual, are equally and often together proclaimed in the Bible.

Saviorship and Kingship.

That first gospel, the promise that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head, and it should bruise his heel, pictures the promised Christ as a bruised Conqueror, a Savior-King. The later prophecies painted the Coming One sometimes as a sufferer, sometimes as a sovereign, which led some of the Jews that were unable to conceive of a king as a voluntary sufferer to expect two Messiahs. At the birth of Christ two cries rang out together: "Unto you is born a Savior." "Where is he that is born King?" On the Mount of Coronation Jesus "spake of his decease." When we recall the cross at the *Lord's* Supper that very name should prompt us to look above his wounded feet and hands and side and brow, to the words above his head, "This is the King"; to which also points the word *sacrament*, whose original meaning is a soldier's oath of loyalty to his king. These double

pictures of the Savior-King culminate in Revelation in the throne on which was a Lamb "as it had been slain." "The gospel of our salvation" is also "the gospel of the kingdom," the *good news* including not only pardon through Jesus the Savior, but also protection and direction through Christ the King.

At the portals of that same book of Revelation, which is preeminently the book of Christ's Kingship, stands the most impressive sign of his present earthly authority, "the Lord's Day," the profound significance of which in this connection I have never seen developed. One day in every week an invisible Lord commands us to halt in the most absorbing pursuits of our earthly life: in the pursuit of money and business; in the pursuit of pleasure; in the pursuit of politics and fame; in the pursuit of education; and we halt as a sign that we believe in that invisible Lord and are loyal to his law. There is no other sign of our faith and loyalty so impressive to a selfish world as this twenty-four-hour halt in our work every week at Christ's command. The Lord's Day is therefore the "sign," the ensign of our Lord Jesus Christ; its field of blue spangled with stars and sun; its stripes the black and white of night and day, and the many colors of sunrise and sunset; and this flag of Christ is carried round the world every week and is saluted by some in every land by the laying aside of tools and toil, in token of their loyalty to a living Lord. Breaking the Sabbath, therefore, is tearing the flag of the Government of the universe, and so an offense kindred to treason. We have forgotten all the murderers of the Revolution, but not Benedict Arnold, because an offense against a good government the calm verdict of history adjudges to be a greater wrong than any that can be done to individuals. Desecrating the Lord's Day, in addition to any wrong to workers or to society that it involves, is high treason to the Lord Himself.[7]

§ 6. *The Kingship of Christ rather than the Saviorship of Christ, is the Bible's ultimate theme.* Saviorship has chiefly to do with the abnormal and temporary period of sin. Kingship is Christ's eternal and normal relation to the universe. It is only as Mediatorial King that Christ's Kingship ever ends. "He shall reign forever and ever."

Bible's Ultimate Theme.

§ 7. But so far is the Kingship of Christ from being equal to the Saviorship of Christ in the current thought of the Church, that in Schaff's *Propedeutic*, the standard catalogue of modern theological books, of which whole pages are required to give the mere titles of books of Christ as the atoning Savior, but one book is catalogued on the Kingship of Christ, and that a foreign sectarian argument for state support of the Church.

Kingship Neglected.

The Kingship of Christ has been thus neglected in our day, partly because it has been involved in five sectarian conflicts,[8] which have made it in the past to many more suggestive of debate than of devotion; partly because this is a sentimental age, more inclined to love than law; partly because this is a democratic age, prejudiced against the very name of kings; but partly also—and this is the profoundest reason—because, in the divine order of development, *the salvation of individuals* through the Saviorship of Christ *precedes the salvation of society* through the Kingship of Christ. It was necessary that Christ should first gather a great host of regenerated individuals, through whom the regeneration of society is now to be achieved.[9]

§ 8. The ideals of unselfish social reform were born of Christ, and can be fully realized therefore only through the leadership of those who have received his unselfish spirit.[10]

§ 9. Those who say society can be regenerated by the regeneration of individuals are equally in error with those

who assume that it can be regenerated without that. Conversion to be a cure-all must convert all, which the parables of the wheat and tares and of the net forbid us to expect. Nor does individual conversion give *method* of social regeneration, but only *motive*. A revival, in saving individuals, does not save society from social evils unless the churches, by wise social action, use their reenforcements unitedly against such evils.[11] But the conversion of individuals has ever been the necessary preparation for such social action. Individual salvation was, therefore, the first work of Christianity.

Revivals.

§ 10. Before Christ brought individuality to light, not only in pagan lands but also in Palestine the unit was the family, of which the husband and father was both brains and conscience, in his own unquestioned estimation. His control of his wife and child and servants was almost as complete as his control of his cattle. The old prophets spoke, not to individuals—save in the case of kings, when they were really speaking to the government—but to families, tribes, cities, nations.

Old Testament.

Ministers should not forget that they are successors, not of priests but of prophets, who were statesmen as well as preachers.* The pastors of premiers and presi-

* Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst says of the sermon which inaugurated municipal reform in New York City, in his book *Our Fight with Tammany:* "I uttered only thirty minutes of indictment against the blood-sucking scoundrels that are draining the veins of our body municipal, and they were all set wiggling like a lot of muck-worms in a hot shovel. I am not such a fool as to suppose that it was the man that said it that did the work; nor that it was what was said that did the work, for it had been said a hundred times before with more thoroughness and detail. It was the pulpit that did the work. Journalistic roasting these vagabonds will enjoy and grow cool over. But when it is clear that the man who speaks it is speaking it, not for the purpose of putting money into his pocket or power into his party, but is speaking it because it is true, and, in speaking it, appreciates its oracular authority as one com-

dents, of law-makers and law-enforcers, should imitate Nathan and Elijah in the faithfulness of their private and personal admonitions.[12] A pastor who has a large number of such persons in his audience—in a capital city, for instance—may properly preach with a degree of frequency on what are called public questions, which should also be discussed by preachers in the press and on the platform and in Christian conferences and conventions; but in the average congregation the pulpit cannot wisely be used for such themes oftener than once a month,[13] except in the season of important elections, when the moral principles involved should be discussed repeatedly in a large, judicial way.

The attitude of the Christian leader in discussing open social questions, such as the labor problem and the woman question,—the attitude we shall take in these lectures in such cases,—should be not that of an advocate but that of a judge, impartially submitting to the jury of the people, for their calm verdict, attested facts and unquestionable principles, stripped of all popular sophistries and class exaggerations.[14] The judge's personal views are in such case unimportant if not inappropriate. Time and space are better used in helping the jury to form their own opinions by giving them the facts and laws.

Christ did not cancel the prophets' social duties in showing his new order of prophets their duties to individual souls. Indeed the New Testament is hardly less sociological than the Old. The student of social problems should read the Bible sociologically, first of all.[15] This will make it seem like a new book, as it has been read theologically, to so large a degree, in the past. There is more material for Biblical sociology than for

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missioned of God to speak it, there is a suggestion of the judgment day about it, there is a presentiment of the invisible God back of it, that knots the stringy conscience of these fellows into contortions of terror."

Biblical theology.[16] Those who have read it with the eye set to the personal relation of the personal God to the personal sinner will be surprised to find how many of its messages are addressed to nations and cities; how many of them are about property and industry; how strongly they insist upon service as well as worship.[17]

§ 11. The central theme of both Testaments is the kingdom of God,[18] which is interpreted by the words of the Lord's Prayer: "Thy kingdom come; thy will be done as in heaven so on earth."[19] Could Christ have taught us to pray for what was not to be? The prayer wraps up an implied promise and prophecy of its own fulfilment. That fulfilment is recorded in the closing chapters of the Bible, whose New Jerusalem our unbelief has led us to think of as not only a heavenly city but also a city in heaven, which is a very different thing.

Kingdom of God.

As the family, the holy family of Eden, is the point of departure in sociological study,[20] its goal is the new earth, the New Jerusalem "*let down from God*"—[21] the kingdom of heaven, a divinely ordered, divinely promised, human and humane society of purity and justice and brotherhood and humanity, in which God's will is done on earth as in heaven. The perfect society is to be not rural and individual, but social—a "city." The proverb, "God made the country and man made the town," will then be outgrown. Cain built the first city, and his has been the leading spirit of cities ever since. *But the City of* CHRIST *is now building on the earth.* If this seems a hard saying, contrast the cities of Christendom not only with the New Jerusalem of the future but also with Rome of the past, where the most cultured men and the most pious women found their supreme pleasure in seeing beasts, gladiators, and martyrs "butchered to make a Roman holiday."

Behold thy King cometh unto thee, oh, city of sin, the

old Jerusalem, where even Christ is sold for silver; but by the leaven of his love and law thou shalt become the New Jerusalem, a Christianized society, whose traders and rulers shall no longer be confused and alarmed when asked, "Where is he that is born King?" If it should be asked at the City Hall among the politicians, and in Wall Street among the brokers, and in Fifth Avenue in the midst of society pleasures, "Where is he that is born King?" there would be no less confusion to-day. There is little sign of his kingship in these places. But revelation proclaims a city on earth in whose streets Christ shall be wholly King.

While Christ's immediate aim was individual conversion, his ultimate aim was the conversion of society from a selfish "body politic" to a Christian brotherhood. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," he proclaimed, as Dr. Josiah Strong reminds us, as the "practical working principle," the law, not the ideal only, of Christian society.[22] In the parable of the good Samaritan he made that law include all men. The law has not been a dead letter through these nineteen Christian centuries, but let us fearlessly ask what a full obedience to it would require, locally, nationally, internationally.

As against the Jewish idea, which even the apostles held up to the time of the Ascension, that Christ was to be only a national deliverer,—who was to conquer the Romans, not convert them; to subdue the world, not save it,—Jesus said, "My kingdom is not of this world," a phrase to be interpreted in the light of this mistaken view of his Messiahship. So also his saying that his kingdom came not with observation. But if one puts all that the Bible says of the kingdom together it will be found that, while it was to begin its work invisibly in such individual hearts as should accept Christ as Savior and King, it was to eventuate in a new order of things; a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.

"My kingdom is not of this world," must be interpreted in the light of that other and later Divine word, "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ"; and in the light of the latter text and others, the former is seen to be only a denial and rejection of the Jewish idea that the Messiah was to inaugurate his kingdom with the sword and other political powers common to civil government. The other passage shows that he is to consummate his kingdom by dominating, from within the hearts of the citizens, the politics and trade of the world.

Those who thought Christ's kingdom was to be wholly external and temporal were not more mistaken than those who in later days have thought it was to be wholly invisible and spiritual.

§ 12. But Christ's most novel doctrine, which was to be first developed, was the sacredness of human individuality. The world had then not too little but too much social action. Christ has been called "the discoverer of the individual." The sacredness of human individuality, because it was a new truth to the world's consciousness, though implied in man's creation, became the central truth of Christian history, which is the history of civilization as well. Christ made the world know and feel that each human being, even the woman, the child, the slave, the captive, the foreigner, the cripple, the pauper, the idiot, the insane, the criminal, is a soul, a Son of God, a brother or sister of Christ, a brother or sister of every other human being, to be loved and helped, not hated and harmed.[23] Slowly the earthquake might of that idea transformed Europe.[24]

Individuality, Christ's Novel Doctrine.

§ 13. Here we enter the distinctive field of church history. A professor of church history criticized my *Outline of Christian Sociology* as containing matter belonging more properly to church history. Strange that he did not take the hint, rather,

Church History.

to read church history sociologically. The most important element in church history, far more valuable than its uninspired theology, is its sociology, the Christian development of charity and humanity and liberty.[25] Patristic theology has no authority, though interesting as constituting the earliest commentary on the New Testament, written by men who were associates of the apostles or of their associates. But more light has broken forth out of God's Word, and we have left that theology behind as daylight leaves behind the morning twilight. *But we have not outrun the Christian sociology of the early Church.*

§ 14. In the second and third centuries, when the Church was terribly persecuted, it nevertheless grew, as Ulhorn shows, because of the wonderful love of Christians for each other, and for their fellows; a love that required for its expression a word not found in classic literature, ἀγάπη, meaning the love of sympathy and pity, which is distinctive Christian love. This love was due to the doctrine that each individual is a soul, a brother or sister of Christ, and so of every other human being. "See how these Christians love each other!" exclaimed the heathen, who lived in "a world without love."[26] They were so fascinated by the love for each other of those who were kindred by the blood of Christ that they were willing to join the noble army of martyrs in order to share it. If we could restore that caste-destroying love, it would nearly, if not quite, settle the social problem.[27] Christians have mostly ceased from hating each other for microscopic differences of doctrine, but Christian love seldom goes beyond its own church walls, and does not always go beyond its own hired pew.* Not infrequently I introduce evangelical

Christian Love in the Early Church.

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* General society is, of course, more Christianized, and the *quantity* of Christian sociology is much greater, but the *quality* of it inside the Church, we fear, has not improved. The heathen are not audibly

pastors of the same city to each other, in arranging for a union meeting on reform, whereas the spirit of the early Church would lead the pastors of a city, with their wives, to welcome warmly each new pastor as a brother beloved at the railroad station on his very arrival.

§ 15. Let us now follow the doctrine of human individuality through three periods of increasing theological shadows, whose sociological virtues have not been sufficiently recognized by those whose gaze has been fixed on their theological errors. Theologically "Dark Ages," they are sociologically entitled to the milder name suggested by Dr. McCosh, "Twilight Ages."[28] And their twilight was that of dawn.

"Twilight Ages."

§ 16. The fourth and fifth centuries I call the antepapal period of the union of Church and state. Sixteen centuries of that mismating bids us pass the Sixteenth Amendment to make it forever impossible in form or fact in our land.[29]

§ 17. From the sixth to the tenth centuries extends the period properly known as the Middle Ages, in which came the beginnings of Papacy, followed in the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries by the Dark Ages, in which it was fully developed. During these periods religious individuality was palsied by Popery. All Europe had but one individual will in religious matters.

§ 18. But even in these three periods, which were

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exclaiming to-day, "See how these Christians love each other!" They, and Christians also, are rather pointing to "the flagitious anarchy," the "Hadesian theology" of our sectarian conflicts, and to the well-defined Christian castes that radiate from the central high-priced pew of Deacon Dives to the inferior pews of Demos and Lazarus: the one next to the pulpit and the other next to the door. Not thus were the Christian slaves and "the saints of Cæsar's household" separated in the early Church. There were no class churches. Christian brotherhood was not, as often to-day, so nominal that, in the words of Professor Ely, one would rather be a second cousin by blood than a "brother," in the general sense, even to a Christian.

theologically dark, darker, darkest, and morally bad, worse, and worst, while the Church in Rome declined in quality, Christianity on the whole gained in quantity, gained in charity and political liberty in its widened field, which now covered the whole of Europe, whose pagan and barbaric cruelties and despotisms it was undermining by the Christian idea of individuality.

§ 19. Christian charities and humanities displaced slowly the pagan cruelties of classic Greece and Rome and the heathen barbarities of the Northern tribes. The kingdom of heaven, which is like leaven, leavened laws as well as hearts from the time of Constantine and Justinian onward, as Charles Loring Brace has shown in that greatest of recent books of evidence, *Gesta Christi* or Humane Progress, which proves, by numerous citations from European laws, that the humane transformation of Europe is a miracle of Christ, one of the "greater things" that the world was not able to bear while Christ was upon earth.

Medieval Social Progress.

The much-lauded Roman "justice" was justice for Romans only, so long as Rome was pagan.[30] The words of Terence, "I am a man; nothing pertaining to man is foreign to me,"[31] often quoted to prove that the idea of "humanity" was not introduced by Christianity, occurs in a play in which the very actor who utters this apothegm, being about to depart on a long journey, urges his wife to destroy their infant, soon to be born, if it should prove to be a girl, rather than expose it alive in the foundling square, which last the mother does, nevertheless, and the daughter is taken by a procurer, as usual, and brought up to an evil life, on which fact the plot of the play turns.[32] Other pretty sayings of pagan writers would likewise lose their luster if read, as they should be, in the light of their context.[33]

The Christian idea of human individuality expanded the idea of justice to include the foreigner and the child,

and originated not only spirituality but also purity, charity, humanity, brotherhood, and liberty—all unknown words, in their present sense, in pagan lands.[34]

As a train progresses when in a dark tunnel as well as when crossing sunlit fields, so the world progressed humanely even in the Dark Ages.

§ 20. It progressed also in the development of political individuality, because Christianity made every man the King's brother and so a sharer in the "divine right to rule." Despotism having been divided among petty kings by the fall of the Roman empire, was at last in a shape to be further divided with the nobles; then with the cities, when their soldiers and money were wanted by King or nobles in their wars with each other; then with the Church, when its influence was called for on the one side or the other. The "divine right" to rule having been thus quartered, the people would be able, later, to kill it by establishing parliaments and republics.[35]

§ 21. Individualism, which had been developing in political and humane lines even in the Dark Ages, resumed its intellectual development in the Renaissance, and its religious development in the Reformation centuries, the fifteenth and sixteenth.

God had held back our virgin continent until the great reformer was born, that here Christianity might have a new field to develop a more spiritual and more ethical type than would be possible in nations habituated to the idea of state churches. For a while it seemed as if Roman Catholics would dominate the New World. A map of the American continent in the first half of the eighteenth century, if the Roman Catholic colonies be shaded black and Protestant colonies white, will show only a narrow strip of white along our coast from Maine to Georgia, surrounded in black by Canada, Florida, Louisiana, Mexico, Central and South America. But Protestantism became dominant through

The Reformation.

its stronger ethical individuality, for the providential continuance of the Christian evolution of individualism into liberty, equality, fraternity.

The Christian truth that every man is the King's brother, under the Fatherhood of God, led the people of Europe and America alike gradually to claim a part or all of the "divine right" to rule. And when the common people had been recognized as individuals by enfranchisement they passed the recognition down to the slaves by emancipation.

The sacred individuality of each human soul *is*, indeed, the spinal cord in the history of civilization.[36]

§ 22. In the humane and political results of the leavening of Europe by Christian ideas and ideals, as Charles Loring Brace tells us in the profound title of the book we have referred to, *Gesta Christi*, Christ "sees of the travail of his soul." Liberty, equality, fraternity, however caricatured by infidelity, are children of Christ. Political equality having been realized in some lands, his travail is now for industrial equality, not of wealth, but of opportunity, and for social ethics in other forms.

§ 23. The Reformation of the sixteenth century was not social, affectional, ethical, but individual, intellectual, doctrinal.[37] Drunkenness, as Dean Ramsay shows, dwelt harmoniously with devotion. Gambling to the glory of God was common in church lotteries. Slavery and sanctification were preached from the same pulpits. Purity was not essential to piety in Protestant princes, whatever was the case with preachers. Religion married politics instead of ethics, whose development was to come later as a century plant from Reformation seed.[38] The primary work of the Reformation was to correct intellectual and doctrinal errors. Intellectual errors need first correction. "As a man thinketh in his heart so is he." *

* "Heart" in that passage, as in all the Bible, means intellect chiefly, rather than affections wholly.

But the time has come to nail the claims of the ninety-five and more current moral reforms[39] to the church doors as the signal for a new reformation in social ethics.

§ 24. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have brought in a new social era, which really does not begin until the middle of the eighteenth century, and but feebly even then. The first words of the new time were Methodism and machinery—not a mere alliteration, for spiritual and industrial quickening have often been cause and effect.[40] In 1776 there appeared three distinct streaks of dawn, one of them not unmixed with shadows: (1) the completion of James Watt's invention of the steam engine, which was to revolutionize production; (2) Adam Smith's declaration of industry's independence of State control, which was to revolutionize distribution; and (3) America's declaration of political independence, which was to revolutionize the relation of people to law, and so at last their relation to both production and distribution. About these were other streaks of dawn. In 1773 John Howard began his prison reform movement. In 1775 Benjamin Franklin founded the first American anti-slavery society. In 1780 Robert Raikes inaugurated the Sabbath-school movement. In 1785 Dr. Benjamin Rush began the modern temperance movement. And in 1793 Carey sailed for India on the first modern missionary ship.

New Industrialism of Eighteenth Century.

But when the eighteenth century closed these movements were all faint and feeble. The twilight continued for one-third of the nineteenth century, including the year 1831. That first third of the century was a time of awakening. It was everywhere felt that dawn was near. But there was as yet no permanent popular government in Europe. In 1807 Napoleon had crushed the few republics of the Old World and conquered all Europe save sea-girt Britain.

Nineteenth Century.

Great Britain's Magna Charta had been secured long before by nobles for nobles only. The people were still politically powerless. Two-thirds of the so-called House of Commons were appointed by the Lords from their "pocket boroughs," so that Parliament was really a House of Lords and a House of lackeys.[41] The legislation was by capitalists, for capitalists. They put prices up and wages down and suppressed opposition by means of the courts. There was little popular education, for the rich rulers thought education would beget aspiration and so make the poor less submissive to their hard lot, with its hard bread and hard beds. Employers resisted all efforts to compel sanitation and the use of safety appliances in mills, and shorter hours for women and children. Royal courts still gave impurity such respectability in Christian lands as its place in the temples has always given it in heathen lands.[42] I have described the condition of Great Britain, but the moral and social status was even worse on the Continent in that first third of this century.

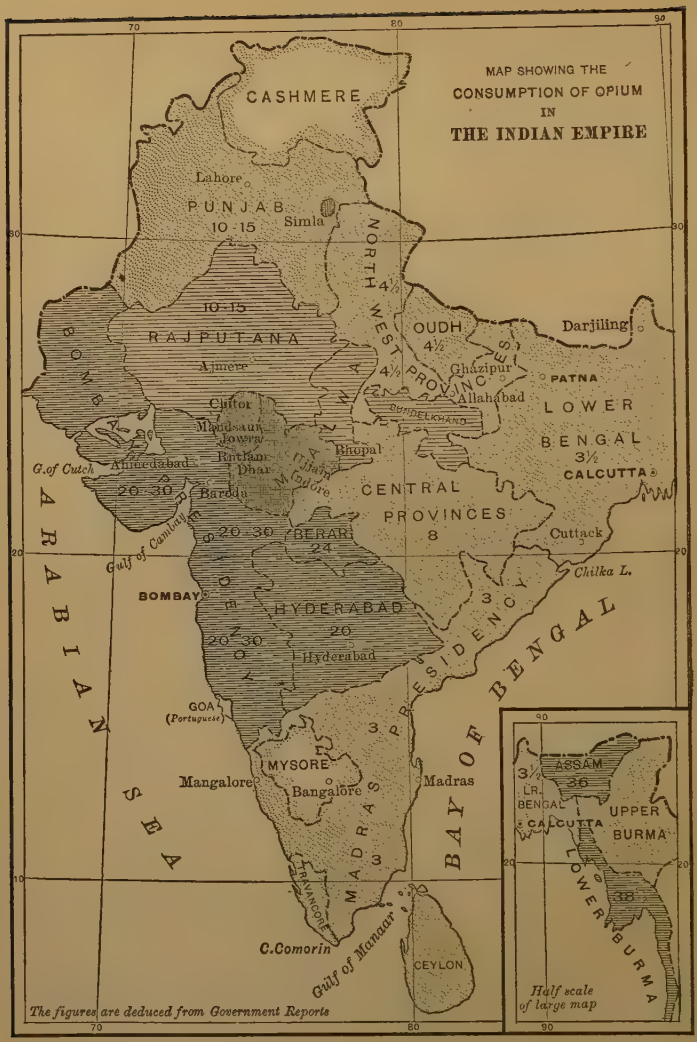
§ 25. In 1832 the new era dawned. Christ came to the world for thirty-four years of greater words and works than men could "bear" when he was upon earth. That was the year of the Reform Bill in Great Britain, the people's Magna Charta, by which the House of Commons first became in reality what it was in name. Between that date and 1867, when British suffrage was broadened, popular government was established in some form throughout Christendom, except in Russia. In that middle third of our century emancipation also swept the Christian world free of slavery, save in Brazil, which reached emancipation soon after. It was also the period when American churches reached agreement on total abstinence and prohibition, under which last fifteen States were enrolled during that period. In that same period Christian union movements began with the inauguration

of the Y. M. C. A. in 1844, the Evangelical Alliance in 1846, and the National Reform Association in 1863. That middle third of the century was also the period of the greatest of Sabbath reform conventions, which rallied, it is said, seventeen hundred delegates in Baltimore, in 1844, under the presidency of John Quincy Adams.

> "Out of the shadows of night
> The world breaks into the light;
> It is daybreak everywhere."

§ 26. The daybreak that came with that middle third of our century has already been overcast with heavy thunder-clouds, especially in our own country. No doubt there has been moral progress since 1867 in the world at large, but it would be hard to prove moral progress in the United States since that date. Three black "threes" stand out in our statistics of this third of the century. The consumption of liquors, by gallons, the divorces, and the murders (other crimes also) have each multiplied since then three times as fast as the population.[43] To this third of the century also belongs the whole career of the Louisiana lottery, not yet really suppressed. It is the period, also, of the Sunday paper, which, in most instances, is not only a sin but a crime. It is also the period of labor insurrections and of municipal corruption; the period, in the world outside, of the breaking down of total abstinence in the two great religions, Buddhism and Mohammedanism, which had taught it to half the world only to have their work undermined by so-called Christian nations. It is the period also of forcing opium upon the Orient.

The House of Commons, in 1891, voted that the "system by which the Indian opium revenue is raised is morally indefensible," and urged the government of India to cease to grant licenses for the cultivation of the



MAP FROM "THE CHRISTIAN ARBITRATOR AND MESSENGER OF PEACE."

The degree of shading indicates the lesser or larger consumption of opium. An average dose of four grains, administered to those unaccustomed to the drug, is sufficient to destroy life. The lightest tint represents, on that basis, an annual consumption sufficient to destroy the population of the province 1.10 times; the darkest, 50.100 times.

poppy and the sale of opium except in quantities sufficient for medical use. But the evil is not yet suppressed. All Christendom should protest until Britain acts, paying no heed to the absurd report of the Indian Opium Commission in 1895, that a moderate use of opium in India is not injurious; that public opinion in India is not adverse to its use, and that prohibition of it is impracticable.

§ 27. One reason why these evils have grown apace is because the Church has not adequately recognized personal and social ethics as an integral and important part of its work. As Columbus discovered an unknown hemisphere, so we are just discovering a neglected hemisphere of church work (see frontispiece), the hemisphere of social ethics.[44] Those critics of the Church are in error who assume that in British and American pulpits dogma has crowded out duty and creed has displaced conduct. All that can truly be said is that individual and social ethics have not had due emphasis in the utterances of the churches even in sermons, much less in creeds. They are a nineteenth-century development, not sufficiently recognized in the eighteenth-century creeds and disciplines of our churches, but only in more recent resolutions which are not law but only advice.[45] The ink on the Presbyterian General Assembly's resolution against admitting liquor dealers into church membership was hardly dry before a prominent Presbyterian church admitted a liquor dealer, taking the ground that church resolutions are mere advice.[46] Three great denominations, the Methodist Episcopal, the Presbyterian, and the United Presbyterian, resolved that no Christian man should vote for a license party,[47] immediately after which resolutions came the Democratic landslide of 1892. The only large denomination having a specific and binding ethical creed—in this respect to be commended—has not adapted it to the new ethical developments of

this century, but in pledging its new members to avoid specific "sins most frequently practised" makes no mention of lotteries, which in the eighteenth century, when these rules were made, were considered a means of grace; nor of Sunday papers; and in its temperance pledge, though a total abstinence church in practice, includes only "spirituous liquors," a fossil phrase from the eighteenth century when fermented and malt liquors were considered temperance drinks.[48]

Not one of the large denominations, so far as we know, recognizes any of the social reforms as a part of Christianity in its official schedules of benevolence. How the efficacy of other church collections is decreased by lack of adequate church support of social reforms, for example, Sabbath observance! Offerings for church erection and ministerial education and home missions are of value in proportion as the people are on the Sabbath free to attend the churches thus erected and hear the preachers thus educated and supported. Mr. Puddefoot, the well-known home missionary secretary, informs me that there are in the frontier towns home missionary churches where the only man in attendance on Sabbath morning is the preacher; churches where the communion has to be postponed from Sabbath morning until evening "because the deacons are all down in the mines." Surely, if only to increase the efficiency of other church benevolences, there ought to be in every church table of collections a column for Sabbath reform; better still if it is for Christian reforms as a whole, with wise division by church authorities.

Christian conventions discuss the "relation" of religion and reforms. Judging by the slight attention and small contributions they receive from the churches as such, and from the rare bequests, one would suppose they were not only "poor relations" but also very "distant relations"; whereas *Reform is the latest and best child of the*

Christian family, of which Charity is the first born. This latest and noblest child of Religion is left like a Lazarus to receive the dole of advisory resolutions and casual offerings "at the door." Reform is a Christ-Child for whom no room has yet been found in the ecclesiastical inn. Individual Christians and individual churches, especially institutional churches, have done much in promoting social ethics, but the national ecclesiastical courts and denominational standards have not yet recognized moral reforms as a department of church work. I do not say this by way of blame. If some in the Church need censure, others only wait for wise suggestion.[49] What is most needed is not heat but light.

§ 28. Evils have of late grown apace not only because the Church has not yet recognized reform as its own child, but also because the Church has relied upon the method of an individualistic age, the conversion of individuals, to overcome the new social evils that can be met only by social action. This is seen by many earnest Christians, and an unprecedented number of Christian associations have therefore been formed since the beginnings of union work in 1844; but, with scant exceptions, they have no official relation to the Church, whose neglected social work they do without its financial aid or its supervision. About 1884 the man who annually catalogued New York City charities told me there was not then one charitable institution of ten years' standing in that city which had not been founded and chiefly supported by Bible men, Christians or Jews. And yet there was hardly half a dozen of the hundreds of organizations supported by Protestant Christians for which the Church got any credit. They had been established, supported, and directed, in each case, by a few individual Christians, not by the Church as such, which had so far abdicated its opportunities of "divine service" that it had applied that large term to

Christian Societies Multiplying.

mere worship, which is but the preparation and prelude to real "service."

§ 29. It must be confessed that those Christian conservatives who most value individual conversion have not been as active in recent "forward movements" to save society, in proportion to their greater numbers, as the so-called "liberals."[50] Let us not forget what all Christians now sadly admit—that Christian conservatives were not as unanimously active in the anti-slavery war as they should have been. Let us not lay up regrets for the future by lagging again in the anti-saloon, anti gambling, anti-monopoly battles and other like conflicts of our own day. Whatever value there may be in division of labor, in specialists, it is not wholesome to divide the work of spiritualities and humanities between conservatives and liberals. Conversion is mightier than environment, but it is helped before and after by favorable environment. However vigorous the life of a seed, it is not likely to bear to the utmost, or even to live, if there be not plowing before, and weeding after the sowing.

Conservatives vs. Liberals.

§ 30. As I am about to suggest some practical modes of social action to the churches let me first of all urge that in doing so we hold fast all the power of consecrated individuality.[51] There are many Christian remedies of social ills that can be applied by Christians individually. As in rebuilding Jerusalem, whose ruin was caused by idolatry, intemperance, and Sabbath-breaking, every man was set to rebuild "over against his own house"—so in building the new Jerusalem of justice on the ruins that selfishness and lust and appetite have made, the largest results are to be achieved by every Christian building over against his own door, removing the nearest evil, promoting the nearest reform, by personal word and deed, by persuasion and prosecution. Curiously enough, while individualism,

Consecrated Individuality.

even in our social age, continues an excessive demand for "personal liberty," it has relaxed the sense of personal responsibility. History is said to be the history of individuals.

> "The world rang like a stricken shield
> When Webster's speech was done."

Many another has found a way to move the world, single-handed.

Never was the power of consecrated individuality greater than now. The moral capture of Nineveh by Jonah as "an army of one" is a history that has repeated itself in the more permanent reforms of many a modern city.

§ 31. But there are remedies for social ills that can be applied by local federations of churches,[52] duties which the Christian church owes to society, which cannot be discharged by individual Christians, not even when they unite in unofficial Christian societies, nor by churches acting separately.[53] The Church is the divinely appointed agency, not for social worship only, but also for charity and reform, and should not leave the work and the credit to voluntary societies, whose very establishment, in some cases, proclaims the Church's neglect. To outside societies may very properly be left such movements as are in advance of average Christian convictions, but such evils as Sabbath-breaking, the drinking usages, gambling, impurity, and harmful reading, and such matters as relate to charity, should surely be looked after in each community by official committees appointed by the churches unitedly.[54] On such reforms as temperance, Sabbath reform, divorce, and purity, Roman Catholic cooperation may be in a measure secured.[55] In many cases it will be wise, at the initiation of a federation of churches, to undertake only the one reform on which the churches are most fully united,

Local Federations of Churches.

which will usually be Sabbath reform,[56] leaving the other reforms to be added to the plan when the federation has achieved some advance in its first undertaking.

§ 32. In some way the churches of each locality should become more directly and actively associated with the new science of charity. The churches should officially unite to establish one or more humane and charitable organizations, or should officially join such organizations if already established.[57] It is not enough to be unofficially represented by a zealous member or two, whose action is on his own motion or by an outside personal invitation.

Church's Duty in Charities.

The Church, by putting undue emphasis upon alms-giving in former ages, has had a large part in the creation of pauperism, and should feel a large responsibility for its cure. The Church of the Middle Ages made promiscuous alms-giving a virtue only second to beggary, which last it canonized.[58] The churches of to-day have not wholly freed themselves from the inheritance of the age-long error that promiscuous alms-giving is a virtue in itself, apart from the merit of the receiver; apart also from the question whether such alms may not bribe the receivers into pauperism.[59] To this prolonged error of the Church the saying is appropriate: "In this world a large part of the business of the wise is to counteract the efforts of the good." The "wise" who are doing the counteracting in this case are the leaders of the Charity Organization movement, which, of all reforms, ought not to have been left to outside societies, composed chiefly of Christians indeed, but acting individually, the Church getting no credit for their work, feeling no responsibility to support it, and having, therefore, no power to guide it.[60] We should feel less sensitive to the charge that the Church has not fulfilled its social and public functions if in each city we could point to a united charities[61] building which the united

churches as such had erected for humane ministries, and in which deacons and other charity dispensers of the churches met regularly to study the very difficult art of poor relief and related reforms.

§ 33. We fear that deacons are not yet entitled to what should be their special beatitude and motto, "Blessed is he that *considereth* the poor." They should be regular attendants of charity conferences, and seek to bring the belated methods of the Church's "poor fund," which is sometimes in reality a pauperizing fund, because of careless and chronic giving from it,[62] up to the standard of scientific charity. As a promise of something in this direction we note the recent organization of the East Side Federation of churches and charitable Societies in New York City, whose work is indicated in part by its committees, "Religious," "Lecture," "Sanitation";[63] also that Dr. S. J. Nicolls of St. Louis has secured the consolidation of all the deacons of the Presbyterian churches of that city in one board of relief, which will make the wealthy churches that have no poor available for relief in those that have no wealth. Such a body can hardly fail to take up also the study of the "new charity."[64]

§ 34. "Silver and gold have I none; such as I have give I thee; in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth rise up and walk."[65] That first charity of the Christian Church is a perfect type of the scientific charity of our day, that lends a hand: that gives not silver but a new spirit, humanely if not divinely imparted; that gives strength not to the ankles but to the spine to rise out of pauperism into self-support and self-respect.[66] Scientific Charity.

History warns us that if we would not really curse those we assume to help, we should in every possible instance bestow our aid as wages for work rather than as a gift, even though direct giving would be much

easier.[67] Throwing a dime to an unknown beggar is an evidence of laziness rather than benevolence.[68] To kill a man's body is bad enough; to kill his self-respect is worse.[69] Whole tenement houses occupied by self-supporting, self-respecting workmen are drawn into beggary because lazy benevolence, which is not beneficence, pays one of the tenants more for three hours' beggary than the others are paid for ten hours' work. One by one they "strike" for the shorter hours and higher wages of beggary.[70]

§ 35. The best feature of scientific charity is "the friendly visitors," persons of refinement who volunteer each to visit repeatedly, without charge, several families that are applicants for aid, to give them, when temporarily relieved, such sympathetic advice and encouragement as will, if possible, restore them to self-help, and give them both work and hope.[71] There is necessarily so much of machinery in city charities that this living heart-throb is a most important element. As Phillips Brooks said profoundly: "We talk about men's reaching through nature up to nature's God. It is nothing to the way in which they may reach through manhood up to manhood's God." This work of the friendly visitor is peculiarly appropriate for deacons and other charity dispensers of the churches as a clinic as well as for ministry.

In the friendly visitor the narrowed meaning of charity as alms-giving is being restored to its original breadth as self-giving. It is a psychic charity, not a physical charity, that is most needed, if not most craved, by the slums.[72] Their occupants, according to the 1894 report on that subject of the United States Department of Labor, are neither less paid nor more sickly than average people. It is therefore inward coarseness of taste, rather than external conditions, that keeps most of them in swine-pens, and in order that they may have better conditions

they must first be cultured to desire them. The most serious want is the lack of wants. Professor Ely shows that lack of goods for the higher wants is not so sad as lack of wants for the higher goods. Let the charity officers of the churches reenforce the King's Daughters and the "Slum Sisters" of the Salvation Army in arousing, by personal effort, nobler wants in the too willing occupants of the slums.

§ 36. This neglected hemisphere of the humanities, the institutional church movement seeks to annex to the spiritualities, with no loss to the latter.[78] Contrary to the fears of conservatives, these churches not only excel their own less humane past but also their less humane neighbors in their spiritual harvest. Reaching more people helpfully on week-days they gather more worshipers on the Sabbath. More ministry results in more members. These churches will need ever to remember that, when we are increasingly attaching dynamos to the river of life for practical work, we need more than ever to see that its spiritual fountains are not cut off. Although all institutional churches have free pews, that is not an institutional mark, for such pews invite to Sabbath worship, which, in some measure, is a feature of all churches, while humane week-day ministry is the peculiar grace of the institutional church. In the words of Rev. Dr. C. A. Dickenson of the Berkeley Temple: "Appliances do not make an institutional church, but rather the spirit of ministration, working itself out along whatever lines the environment of the particular church demands." It seeks by presenting a full-orbed Christianity to develop full-orbed Christians; to develop not only a spiritual but physical, intellectual, and social powers as well. The Y. M. C. A. has long done this on a union basis, using gymnastics, recreation, education, and good fellowship, as well as prayer, to win young men to Christ and "keep them there." Except

Institutional Churches.

in the large cities the only institutional church needed is a Y. M. C. A. and a Y. W. C. A., both splendidly equipped the first to attract both boys and men, the other for girls and women, supplemented by a Union Humane Society, through which the churches prevent cruelty and minister wisely to poverty, and a Reform League of like constituency. But down-town churches in large cities, situated where there are few homes and fewer home comforts, need to maintain separately or jointly a full line of institutional aids, such as reading-room, gymnasium, bath, club-room, and kindergarten. The most radical departure from old methods is seen in the People's Palace adjoining his Tabernacle in Jersey City, of which Rev. Dr. John L. Scudder is pastor. In it he has a reading-room, library, bowling alley, pool table, a bar (for sale of soft drinks and pies), baths, club-rooms for boys' brigade, etc., and a miniature theater, fully equipped. The spiritual results of this work are such as to make one slow to criticize, but in most cases the preventive work with the young, which he wisely makes his chief aim in fighting social evils, might be accomplished by following the Y. M. C. A. in its sufficient range of recreations, that have behind them the approval, after discussion and experiment, of the whole evangelical community, and so do not challenge controversy.[74] In this matter it should not be forgotten that there are no "innocent amusements" for adults, but that recreation is the duty of all. City churches among the poor are bound to provide and supervise recreations as a preventive of temptation to forbidden amusements and as an expression of the gladness of religion and its care for our physical as well as moral welfare. Still more must the institutional church stand for the reality of human brotherhood in all its forms of helpfulness.[75]

§ 37. There are also Christian remedies for social ills

that can best be applied by State and national federation of churches. So far as the writer knows there is but one among the State and national and international reform societies that was officially organized by the churches; this one exception being the official institution, at his suggestion, of the American Sabbath Union, by fourteen evangelical denominations, through official votes at their national conferences. As no money was appropriated to enable the charter members thus appointed to attend the annual meetings of the Union, it was left wholly dependent on individual benevolence and individual direction, and this case is, therefore, only a suggestion of how such a society ought to be *begun*. Some day it is to be hoped the churches will be shamed or aroused to undertake a united campaign against social evils in some more effective way than by the paper bombardment of mere resolutions. Churches are one in condemning lotteries, but the Hoar Anti-lottery Bill, which passed the United States Senate early in 1894, failed to pass the House at that session of Congress because there were only individual effort and individual contributions to arouse the country to demand its enactment.[76] For lack of State federations of churches to watch and defeat gamblers and other foes of society, race-track gambling was legalized in 1894, even in such States as Maryland and Rhode Island, as it had been legalized before, for like reason, in other States.* An official national federation of Christian churches in a strong and well-supported National Bureau of Reforms might be a most effective

National Federation of Churches.

* Rhode Island repealed the law on the first day of its legislature of 1895, and Minnesota and Kansas in that year passed anti-gambling laws. But that same year New York and Missouri granted gambling monopolies to race-tracks, and in several other legislatures similar infamies were proposed and passed one House. Such bills are likely to be presented in any and all our State legislatures.

method of ethical home missionary work. The Bureau so named, that I have established unofficially, will be glad to yield the field to an official one.[77] Let us hope the proposed Federal Council[78] of Presbyterian and Reformed Churches will ere long become a national federation of *all* churches to save society as well as souls. Such federations of churches for the solution of social reforms were recommended by a conference of Christians, chiefly from Great Britain, representing many denominations, which assembled at Grindelwald, Switzerland, in the summer of 1894.

§ 38. Such a union in the form of a round-the-world chain of Christian reform conventions, which I proposed in 1893 as the most fitting celebration of the completion of nineteen Christian centuries in 1900–1901, has received the approval of many eminent Christian leaders. In special trains and boats, decorated with the banner, "In the Year of Our Lord, 1901," it is proposed that at least three hundred, perhaps one thousand, Christian tourists shall make a six months' tour of the world, holding frequent conventions in the interest of those social reforms in which all Christians can unite—such as the crusades against intemperance, Sabbath-breaking, impurity, divorce, gambling, industrial injustice, and political corruption—the chief gatherings being in Calcutta, Jerusalem, Rome, Paris, and London, and the chief theme the application of our Lord's law to the whole of life.[79]

1900–1901.

§ 39. We shall reach Christian union, or at least unity, sooner than by debate, sooner even than by singing "Blest be the tie that binds," by practical federation of churches for reform work. Theological unity is not to be expected, but sociological union is practicable. The great social evils about us, that look strong enough to thrive through another hundred years, might be routed in ten by a fighting federation of churches. Singing

alone will not exorcise them. The World's Fair Sabbath-closing Campaign, by petitions and letters and otherwise, convinced Congress that the friends of the Sabbath are not "a little band of fanatics" but America's regal majority. The six and a half millions of Christian voters in the United States, and proportionately large armies of Christian citizens in the British Empire, can doom any evil against which they will unite.[80] "When Greek meets Greek then comes the tug of war," we now know to be an erroneous rendering of the old proverb, which refers not to the common and foolish and disastrous civil strife among Greeks, but to the invincibility of their union against the common foe. "When Greek *joins* Greek, then comes the tug of war"—for the Persian. When Christian Church fights Christian Church then comes the tug of war—for Christianity. But when Christian Church *joins* Christian Church then comes the tug of war for the evils that assail us and the world victory of Christ.[81]

"Oh, blest is he to whom is given
The instinct that can tell
That God is on the field
When he is most invisible.

"And blest is he who can divine
Where the real right doth lie,
And dares to take the side that seems
Wrong to man's blindfold eye.

"He always wins who sides with God,
To him no chance is lost;
God's will is dearest to him when
It triumphs at his cost.

"Oh, learn to scorn the praise of men,
Oh, learn to lose with God,
For Jesus won the world through shame
And beckons thee his road.

"For right is right since God is God,
And right the day must win;
To doubt would be disloyalty,
To falter would be sin." —FABER.

POTENTIAL CHRISTIAN VOTERS IN U. S. IN 1890.

From Tables by REV. W. H. ROBERTS, D. D., LL. D., in *The Independent*, Feb., 1895.

STATES.	Potential Voters.	Protestant Communicants.	Male Protestant Members.*	Per cent. Males.	Catholic Communicants.	Catholic Males of Full Age.	Potential Voters. Per cent. Catholics.
NORTH ATLANTIC DIVISION	5,055,239	3,163,620	1,044,540	20.6	2,941,171	913,233	19.4
Maine	201,241	90,294	30,098	14.9	57,548	17,869	9.4
New Hampshire	118,135	62,349	20,783	17.6	39,920	12,396	11.0
Vermont	101,697	61,495	20,498	19.8	42,810	13,293	13.7
Massachusetts	665,009	317,319	105,773	15.7	615,072	190,979	30.8
Rhode Island	100,017	49,590	16,530	16.1	96,825	30,063	32.0
Connecticut	224,092	152,400	50,800	22.7	152,945	47,492	22.8
New York	1,769,649	965,159	321,719	18.1	1,153,650	358,208	21.7
New Jersey	413,530	280,680	93,560	22.7	223,274	69,325	17.8
Pennsylvania	1,461,869	1,154,334	384,778	26.3	559,127	173,608	12.7
SOUTH ATLANTIC DIVISION	2,015,578	3,028,656	1,009,552	50.1	254,883	79,141	4.2
Delaware	47,559	36,903	12,301	25.0	11,776	3,656	8.3
Maryland	270,738	233,698	77,896	28.7	141,410	43,908	17.3
District of Columbia	64,505	55,150	18,383	28.5	37,593	11,673	20.0
Virginia	378,782	555,509	185,169	48.9	12,356	3,837	1.8
West Virginia	181,400	173,443	57,814	32.0	15,653	4,861	2.8
North Carolina	342,653	682,060	227,353	66.4	2,640	819	0.2
South Carolina	235,606	502,102	167,367	71.1	5,360	1,665	0.7
Georgia	398,122	665,393	221,797	55.7	11,228	3,486	0.9
Florida	96,213	124,398	41,466	42.9	16,867	5,237	5.8
NORTH CENTRAL DIVISION	6,202,901	4,501,854	1,500,618	24.1	2,173,145	674,761	11.7
Ohio	1,016,464	867,502	289,167	28.4	336,114	104,364	11.0
Indiana	595,066	570,043	190,014	32.0	119,100	36,980	6.7
Illinois	1,072,663	713,477	237,826	22.2	475,474	147,634	14.7
Michigan	617,445	339,437	113,146	18.3	222,261	69,013	12.0
Wisconsin	461,722	304,591	101,530	22.0	249,829	77,572	18.0
Minnesota	376,036	258,663	86,221	22.8	271,769	84,384	24.2
Iowa	520,332	383,794	127,931	24.6	164,522	51,084	10.6
Missouri	705,718	564,320	188,107	26.6	162,864	50,569	7.6
North Dakota	55,959	33,039	11,013	19.6	26,427	8,206	15.7
South Dakota	96,765	59,682	19,894	20.6	25,720	7,986	8.8
Nebraska	301,500	140,512	46,837	15.6	51,503	15,992	5.6
Kansas	383,231	266,794	88,931	23.2	67,562	20,977	6.0
SOUTH CENTRAL DIVISION.	2,512,704	3,057,764	919,255	36.5	451,701	140,253	6.0
Kentucky	450,792	512,389	170,796	37.9	92,504	28,722	6.9
Tennessee	402,476	530,690	176,897	44.0	17,950	5,573	1.4
Alabama	324,822	542,181	180,727	55.7	13,230	4,108	1.3
Mississippi	271,080	417,642	139,214	51.3	11,348	3,524	1.5
Louisiana	250,563	184,624	61,541	24.3	211,863	65,785	28.3
Texas	535,942	575,000	91,667	17.1	99,691	30,954	6.2
Oklahoma	19,161	3,704	1,235	6.3	1,270	394	2.2
Arkansas	257,868	291,534	97,178	37.6	3,845	1,193	0.5
WESTERN DIVISION	1,153,889	252,741	84,447	7.3	435,731	135,294	12.6
Montana	65,415	7,047	2,349	3.5	25,149	7,809	12.3
Wyoming	27,044	3,124	1,041	4.2	7,185	2,231	8.8
Colorado	164,920	36,627	12,209	7.2	47,111	14,628	9.6
New Mexico	44,951	4,667	1,556	3.4	100,576	31,229	75.5
Arizona	23,696	1,472	491	2.0	19,000	5,899	25.0
Utah	54,471	3,776	1,259	2.3	5,958	1,849	3.6
Nevada	20,951	1,397	466	2.2	3,955	1,228	6.3
Idaho	31,490	4,255	1,418	4.5	4,809	1,493	5.0
Washington	146,918	37,192	12,397	8.4	20,848	6,473	4.8
Oregon	111,744	38,282	12,761	11.4	30,231	9,387	8.9
California	462,289	113,613	37,871	8.2	157,346	48,855	11.2
Alaska	32,052	1,289	429	1.3	13,563	4,212	14.1

Total potential Christian voters, Protestant, 4,558,412; Catholic, 1,942,682.

* The proportion of persons under age in the totals of male Protestant communicants given in the statement is probably about 10 per cent. Inasmuch, however, as the percentage of non-naturalized foreigners in the totals of potential voters is also about 10 per cent., it follows that the percentages given in the fourth column have a political as well as an ecclesiastical value. The latter column indicates, therefore, the highest possible proportion of potential Protestant voters.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

§ 1. What is the position of humanitarianism in the teachings of Christ? What is the definition of Christian sociology?

§ 2. In what aspect is Christ the center of Christian sociology? What distinction is made as to the means of social regeneration as compared with the means of personal salvation?

§ 3. What trilogy does the law of Christ include? Are there other New Testament laws of Christ? In what two senses is the Decalogue the law of Christ? What laws besides those of the Bible are included in the law of Christ, and why?

§ 4. What is the most serious error we have inherited from the Middle Ages? What sub-kingdoms does Christ's kingdom embrace, including one to be added to current classifications? What is the peculiar characteristic of this last? That part of it we call the Church is what in its essence?

§ 5. What form of Church action does the solution of social problems require? Through what does the Bible promise the salvation of society, and to what extent is this way of social salvation revealed? In what Bible passages? What is the regal significance of "The Lord's Day"?

§ 6. How is the Kingship of Christ rather than the Saviorship of Christ the Bible's ultimate theme?

§ 7. What evidences can be given that the Kingship of Christ is less considered to-day than his Saviorship? Why has the Kingship of Christ been so little regarded in our day?

§ 8. How is man's natural selfishness an obstacle to social reform, and how is this obstacle to be removed? What is the origin of our unselfish social ideals, and what inference does this origin suggest as to their realization?

§ 9. What two fallacies are involved in the claim that social evils may be removed by individual conversions only? With what form of action must revivals be followed in order to make them effective against social evils?

§ 10. Before Christ emphasized human individuality, what was the social unit? Whom did the Old Testament prophets chiefly address? To what social and personal elements of the prophets' work is the preacher of to-day a successor? How can the social message of to-day be most effectively and wisely delivered? Is the New Testament wholly individualistic in its plan of salvation? What new methods of reading both Testaments are suggested? Is the larger portion of the Bible theological or sociological? Give samples of sociological passages.

§ 11. What is the central theme of the New Testament, and what is Christ's most concise explanation of it and the implication of that explanation? What is the sociological import of the closing chapters of the New Testament? What was Christ's immediate, and what his ultimate aim as to man? What law did he proclaim as the practical working principle of society, and how broadly did he apply it? What are some

of the changes in the social life of to-day that a practical application of that law would produce? To what error was the word of Christ, "My kingdom is not of this world," a reply; and how does its historic occasion confirm or correct the use of these words by opponents of Christian politics?

§ 12. What is named as Christ's most novel doctrine, and how was it applied and with what result?

§ 13. Why should we read church history sociologically?

§ 14. What quality of the early Church most impressed and attracted their pagan neighbors? What might be expected from a restoration of this Christian grace? What approach to it has been made in recent years? What are the evidences that it is yet largely lacking?

§ 15. What three periods theologically dark were times nevertheless of sociological progress, and what new name for them has been therefore suggested?

§ 16. What practical lesson has the first of these periods for us?

§ 17. How was individuality on the religious side checked?

§ 18. In what respect did Christianity gain while theologically corrupt?

§ 19. How was individuality developed in charities? How are charities shown to be of Christian origin? What was the limitation of Roman "justice"? What does the context of the words of Terence, "I am a man," etc., suggest as to the supposed humanitarianism of paganism?

§ 20. How did individuality work out in medieval politics?

§ 21. What effect did the Reformation have upon individuality? What seems to have been the providential purpose of the late discovery of America? What was the relative position of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism in America early in the eighteenth century? How was this position changed by Protestantism? How did the idea of individuality work toward popular government and emancipation? What is the relation of the idea of human individuality to the history of civilization?

§ 22. Charities and political progress are how related to Christ? What new development of Christian ideas seems to be at hand?

§ 23. What were the characteristics and what the defects of the Reformation of the sixteenth century? What new reformation is now needed?

§ 24. From what general and special dates should the beginning of our new social era be reckoned, and what were its first words and deeds? What was the status of the new social movements at the end of the eighteenth century and in the first third of the nineteenth?

§ 25. What date is given as that of the full dawn of the new era? What were the chief achievements between that date and 1867?

§ 26. In what three particulars have evils in the United States outrun the population in this closing third of the century, and to what extent? What other evils belong to this same period?

§ 27. What defect in the relation of the Church to ethics is named as one reason why it has not proved more successful in restraining these evils? How are the utterances of various churches on ethics defective or ineffective? How do the official schedules of church benevolence indicate that the Church as yet regards all social reforms as "outside matters"? How are charity and reform related to each other and to religion?

§ 28. How is the lack of cooperation of churches related to the growth of social evils? Why are there so many associations of charity and reform apart from the churches, and by whom are they supported chiefly? Is public worship the chief end of the Church?

§ 29. What is said of the relation of religious conservatives to recent "forward movements"?

§ 30. What remedies for social ills can be applied by Christians individually? What is the current feeling as to personal liberty and personal responsibility? Has the power of individuals decreased in this social age?

§ 31. What remedies for social ills can be applied by local federations of churches?

§§ 32–35. How should the churches cooperate in public charities? How did the Church promote pauperism in the Middle Ages? Does this evil to any degree remain in the churches to-day? By whom are charity organization societies chiefly conducted? By what means might deacons or other charity-dispensing church officers magnify their office? What Bible incident best pictures the "new charity"? In what respect is ordinary alms-giving most injurious? What is the best feature of the "new charity"?

§ 36. Have institutional churches, in adding humanities, weakened spiritualities? What is their most distinctive feature? How does their work resemble that of the Y. M. C. A.? Where are institutional churches most needed? Describe the Jersey City People's Palace. How can controversy as to amusements for such places be best escaped?

§ 37. What incident in Congress illustrates the need of a national federation of churches? Describe the Presbyterian Federal Council as to its sociological proposals?

§ 38. What union celebration of the completion of nineteen Christian centuries is suggested?

§ 39. How can church federation be best promoted? What facts show the potential strength of the churches?

SOCIOLOGICAL THEMES FOR MINISTERS' MEETINGS, CHURCH CLUBS, CONFERENCES, ETC.

1. Have orthodox churches underestimated humanitarianism? 2. Is doctrine given undue attention, as compared to ethics, in the examination of ministers and members? 3. Should the Kingship of Christ be given a larger place in preaching and teaching? Are the new views of the kingdom of God as a Christianized human society correct? 4. Are individual conversions sufficient to correct the evils of our times? 5. Should the Church have an ethical creed as exact as its doctrinal creed? 6. To what extent should down-town city churches be institutional? 7. Has the United States progressed morally since 1867? 8. Is a permanent local federation of churches to promote social reforms desirable? 9. Is a National Federal Council of all Protestant churches to act for the churches in the promotion of moral reforms needed? 10. Is it practicable to unite charity-dispensing officers of the churches in the study of scientific charity? 11. Can the church sociable be made the

means of breaking down class feeling and promoting brotherly love? 12. How can busy pastors best obtain a practical knowledge of current social problems?

FIELD WORK.

1. Visit charitable institutions within reach. 2. Study the causes and cure of poverty as "friendly visitor" of some charity organization society of poor relief. 3. Interview pastors as to church methods. 4. Find out names of church members who rent property for saloons, etc., and sign license petitions. 5. Visit, or study by correspondence, institutional churches and Y. M. C. A. 6. Read the Bible sociologically. 7. Study the local Christian vote.

Unus homo, nullus homo: Ancient proverb.

ALFRED TENNYSON:

> The woman's cause is man's; they rise or sink
> Together, dwarfed or godlike, bond or free.

DR. A. M. FAIRBAIRN: If only the Church could rebuild the home, it would create the conditions that would, even in the face of our modern industrial development, make all the old chivalries and graces of religion still possible.—*Religion in History, etc., p.* 42.

ALFRED MARSHALL: The family relations of those races which have adopted the reformed religion are the richest and fullest of earthly feeling; there never has been before any material of texture at once so strong and so fine with which to build up a fabric of social life.—*Principles of Economics, p.* 35.

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE: The greatest and deepest of all human controversies is the marriage controversy.—*National Divorce Reform League Report,* 1888.

DR. ELISHA MULFORD: The family is the most important question that has come before the American people since the War.

DR. JOSEPH COOK: A dwelling that has not in it a family altar may be a house, but can never be a home.—*Our Day,* 1894, 345.

ABRAM S. HEWITT: Students of sociology are agreed that the greater portion of the suffering in this world is due to preventable causes, among which the most potent is ignorance, and scarcely less powerful are environment and heredity.—Address on opening United Charities Building, *Charities Review,* 2: 304.

GRAHAM WALLAS: If this generation were wise it would spend on education not only more than any generation has ever spent before, but more than any generation would ever need to spend again.—*Fabian Essays, p.* 183.

PRESIDENT E. B. ANDREWS: Let the hard study which the last two generations have bestowed on physical science be applied for the next two generations to social science, and the result may be, if not heaven, at least a tolerable earth.—*Wealth and Moral Law,* 90.

GEORGE W. CABLE: It seems to me that the first thing for people to realize who want most efficaciously to help, intellectually and spiritually, those who need them, is that they must get to the homes of those whom they wish to aid. We must make the home the object of our endeavor, instead of the individual. Too many of our attempts at uplifting begin by extracting the individual from his home.—*The Outlook,* June 8, 1895.

BISHOP JOHN HEYL VINCENT
Founder of the C.L.S.C.

MRS. MARY H. HUNT, W.C.T.U.
SUPERINTENDENT SCIENTIFIC TEMPERANCE EDUCATION

ANTHONY COMSTOCK.
SECRETARY SOCIETY FOR PREVENTION OF VICE.

MRS. WILBUR F. CRAFTS.
PRESIDENT INTERNATIONAL PRIMARY UNION

II. FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE FAMILY AND EDUCATION.

I. The Family.

§ 1. Purity and home, both words without meaning outside of Christian lands,[1] are respectively the root and flower of the family, which is the *primary* social group, in the order both of time and importance. It is the fault of much current sociological discussion, as of current legislation, that it makes more of property than of purity,[2] more of money than of morals, and so assumes that the shop rather than the home is the sociological point of departure, and that *larger having* rather than *nobler being* is the sociological end. It degrades sociology to make it a mere extension of economics.[3]

§ 2. But surely there is no need to prove that normal society is an association of families. The opening chapters of Genesis teach not only monotheism but monogamy. Society is there shown to have originated in a holy family. Historically, nations are but families expanded to tribes, headed by a father-king.[4] One reason why our modern cities are so abnormal morally is that they are abnormal socially, being largely composed of boarders, the fragments of broken families.[5] Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, the most illustrious of municipal reformers, declares that "the sorest spot in our municipal condition—in national also—is the decadence of the home idea." The home has very largely given place to the boarding-house, especially in the case of young men, who so madly rush to the cities at the very age of greatest moral peril. This causes the break

Boarding Abnormal.

up, if not the break down, of family life. It is hardly less than a wrong to society when a family takes to boarding.[6]

§ 3. Society being composed of families, can be no better than its families. A corrupt family is a poisoned drop of society's life blood. "Bad homes and heredity," if not, as claimed by Dr. S. W. Dike, "the most potent single cause of crime," constitute at least one of the most potent. The perils of the home are the most serious, because the most fundamental perils of society. The betterment of the homes is the most radical method of improving society.

Corrupted and Disrupted Families.

§ 4. Christian sociology, in discussing the family, first of all is bound to defend its Christian foundation, monogamy, against both Mormonism and unscriptural divorces, that is, against both contemporaneous and "consecutive polygamy." It is a curious fact that in 1877 these two evils were exhibited side by side in Utah, where there were among "the Gentiles" about half as many divorces as marriages during that year.[7]

§ 5. Some have cited against Christianity the polygamy of Old Testament believers. These accusers should consider, on the other hand, that God's original Edenic plan was monogamy; and that polygamy was never divinely sanctioned; and that Christ brought to men the strictest of monogamous laws. Especially is it important to note in this connection that wherever the Bible prevails polygamy and impurity are both outlawed, while they are not so outlawed in any pagan or heathen code of morals. Stealing and killing are condemned in all codes. Natural morality forbids both. Purity (including monogamy) and Sabbath-keeping are the two distinctive features of Christian morality. In nothing is the superiority of Christianity more marked than in matters pertaining to women and children and so to the problem of the family.

Old Testament Polygamy.

Colonel Robert Ingersoll, in his most popular lecture, attempts to show that "Liberty of Man, Woman, and Child," so far as secured, is an anti-Christian or at least a non-Christian achievement. It is only necessary to point in reply to the fact that the oldest and best of non-Christian civilizations, those that have tried long and thoroughly the agnostic ethical culture of Confucius and Buddha, have wholly failed, except as recently influenced by Christianity, to develop any "liberty" even for man, much less for woman or child.[8] The World's Parliament of Religions—on the holding of which I raise no question—has shown us some of the pretty sayings of heathen religions, a few gems gathered out of much mire ;[9] but no educated man should forget, as the sufficient refutation of all their claims to rank with Christianity, that all these heathen religions not merely tolerate but consecrate impurity.[10] None of them can stand the test, "How do you treat woman?" What we hide on back streets as a vice, they parade in their temples as virtue.

Pagan Maltreatment of Women.

§ 6. As to Mormonism, although the pretended "revelation" against polygamy which was promulgated by the Mormon chief was undoubtedly a trick to secure Statehood for Utah and so protection for polygamy, the anti-Mormon party has dissolved in the conviction that such an act can never be recalled.[11]

§ 7. Turning now to the subject of divorces, we find unusual facilities for this branch of the study in a government collection of statistics for the years 1867–1886, covering both the United States and foreign lands.[12] These statistics are valuable and would have been more so but for great neglect in the official recording of marriages and divorces in our States, as compared with European countries, which excel us in this whole subject of family laws.[13]

Divorces.

The fact that divorces since 1867 have been multiplying

in the United States nearly three times as fast as the population is generally regarded as the most ominous fact in regard to the family. In Connecticut in 1875 there was one divorce to each eight marriages. In Delaware, at the other end of the line, for a period of years the ratio was one to thirty-six. Senator Kyle reports the recent average for the whole country to be one divorce to every twenty marriages.[14] It was such statistics that prompted Mr. Gladstone to write to Dr. S. W. Dike, "The facts caused me some alarm as to the future of your great country."[15]

§ 8. Hon. Carroll D. Wright, the skillful collector of these official statistics, in an address based upon them,[16] seeks to prove that it is right and wise to grant divorces for other than "the one scriptural cause."[17] He says:

"The purpose of marriage as a civil institution means the security of society, and the security of society depends upon the continued sacredness of the civil contract. Every one, with perhaps few exceptions, indorses the idea that marriage should be dissolved for the one scriptural cause. But why should marriage be dissolved by legal process for this one cause? Simply because by it and through it the divine and the civil purposes of marriage have been perverted, happiness has been completely wrecked, and the moral sentiment of society outraged. This position is eminently sound, and will hold through all time. Bear in mind that it is because the civil and divine purposes of marriage have been thwarted that the scriptural cause is almost universally indorsed as a righteous one for the legal dissolution of marriage ties. In granting this position, those who adhere strictly to the ecclesiastical view of divorce abandon the whole question, for if the scriptural cause is good for the reason stated, then whatever cause eventuates in the same results must be logically as adequate for divorce as the scriptural one."[18]

What is called in the latter part of this quotation "the ecclesiastical view," and in another part of the address, by a slip of the pen, "the Mosaic law," and in the earlier part of the above quotation more correctly "the one scriptural cause," refers, as the context shows in each case, to what may be more exactly described as *the law of Christ*, by whom, rather than "Moses" or "ecclesiastical" authority, "the one scriptural cause" is proclaimed. When the Christian has before him a specific law of Christ,[19] he has something far better than his own or other human inferences. Our imperfect reason should be used only on matters of which the perfect reasoner and universal king has not spoken. However much an individual here and there may be inconvenienced by the refusal of absolute divorce from an uncongenial marriage (I am making no argument against legal separation from bed and board), the divorce law of Christ will surely accomplish the greatest good of the greatest number. Certainly our weaker laws, which allow divorce for more than one cause and have so caused a phenomenal multiplication of divorces, have not proved their superiority to Christ's law by their results.*

§ 9. It may be true that divorces have multiplied in the United States partly because emancipated American womanhood will bear less treason and abuse than her sisters in other lands and her sisters of former generations in this land. There is force also in the claim that what becomes divorce in our land may become something worse in other lands. But whether or not our family life is really as much worse than formerly, as much worse than other lands, as statistics suggest, they show at least a status of the family that is far from satisfactory, one that loudly calls for speedy remedies. In 1886 there were 25,535 divorces involving 21,000 children.[20]

* The reader should not fail to read Mr. Wright's argument as given more fully in Appendix.

Every section of the country was about equally involved. The largest ratio of divorces to marriages was in the North and West, but the largest increase in the ratio was in the South.

What can be done about it?

Remedies for Lax Divorce Customs.

§ 10. The remedy most urged—a uniform national law on polygamy, marriage, and divorce: that is, a constitutional amendment—has not been favored by the anti-divorce leader, Dr. S. W. Dike. Others also have hesitated in the fear that Congress would not pass a law equal to the best of the State laws.[21] But Senator Kyle makes a strong argument for it on the ground that it would at least remove the scandal that a marriage may now be legal in one State and the children resulting from it legitimate, while in another State the same marriage is invalid and the children illegitimate. It will be a long time before State commissions can be expected to untangle all such cases, and with the added urgency of the Mormon problem a strong case is made in favor of earnest effort to secure a national constitutional law. Dr. Dike favors national action in the case of the District of Columbia and the Territories, in which last some of the worst abuses have existed; for instance, Oklahoma, with the silent consent of Congress, is offering divorces on ninety days' residence and for fourteen causes, to attract "divorce colonies."[22] The Territorial Secretary, mistaking the motive of my inquiry, writes with the glibness of an auctioneer, "Courts grant divorces readily on good cause shown."

§ 11. All defenders of the family favor the State commissions on uniform marriage and divorce laws as a method which may at last accomplish the desired result, if the amendment should fail or be delayed, and which will accomplish beneficial results at once in many States in any case. Nineteen States, containing about half the

national population, had appointed such commissions up to the date of the National Divorce Reform League's report for 1894.

§ 12. Hon. Carroll D. Wright, in the address already quoted, suggests that when in divorce proceedings criminality has been proved the guilty party shall be indicted in a criminal court and duly punished.

§ 13. He suggests also that, as in some foreign states, the granting of divorces shall be resisted by a state officer appointed for the purpose, on the ground that the defense of the family is a duty of the state.

§ 14. He further suggests that law might make divorce and remarriage thereafter more difficult.[23] People will "marry in haste" so long as they need not "repent at leisure."

§ 15. He also suggests that methods of procedure and the administration of divorce laws might be improved. During the year covered by the National Divorce Reform League's report for 1894, eleven States in this or other ways improved their laws of marriage and divorce. The divorce agitation led by Dr. Dike, by quickening public conscience, has apparently arrested the tendency to laxity in divorce laws, and turned the tide somewhat in the other direction—so encouraging further agitation.

§ 16. And let us remember with hope and joy, that nineteen-twentieths of the marriages do not end in divorces but are mostly unions of fidelity and affection, the husband, a house-band indeed, and the wife, as her name implies, a *weaver* of love cords.

> Wife means weaver, he said,
> And when hearts truly wed
> There is knitting of soul unto soul.
> Life itself is the thread,
> From the heart spool of red,
> Which a Will not our own doth unroll.

Through the warp of heart cords
Shoots the woof of sweet words,
And the shuttle that weaves them is love.
Fairer robes this affords
Than have princes and lords;
Less only than angels above.

Through the changes of life
Stands the weaver, the wife,
By the side of the love-driven loom;
Keeping out knots of strife,
While the bright threads are rife,
And she weaveth the beauty of home.

WILBUR F. CRAFTS: *Wife.*

§ 17. It is appropriate at this point, before leaving the subject of marriage, to note an alleged increase of what one of the magazines calls, "girl bachelors."

Bachelors.

When few occupations were open to women, no doubt many women married without even esteem, much less affection, merely for support. This was prostitution in disguise, of which another case is marrying for luxury without love. Self-supporting women are becoming more numerous,[24] and so fewer women marry unloved and unworthy men. This prevents many ill-assorted marriages, few happy ones. Its remedy is not lectures to the "girl bachelors," but the betterment of the young men, many of whom are both physically and morally unfit to be husbands.

§ 18. But there is an increasing tendency to bachelorhood, it is declared, even among reputable men, said to be due to the extravagant style in which girls expect to live. (A heavy tax on bachelors has been seriously proposed in several legislatures to correct this tendency.) The tendency and its alleged cause we believe should be opposed: the tendency as unwholesome, the excuse as untrue. For every worthy man there is a worthy woman ready to make a humble and happy home. Neither man nor woman can usually attain to life's best possibilities

single—not even in health and length of life, says Dr. Pomeroy [25]—and one should be very sure he has a good excuse who refuses an opportunity to mate worthily.

§ 19. Society's chief interest in preserving and purifying the family is doubtless that the child of to-day is the citizen of the future. Married men are relatively less numerous in the criminal class than bachelors, verifying the foreign proverb, "The man without a home is more dangerous than an asp or dragon." In the words of Bacon, "He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune." He is likely to be more temperate, more industrious, more stable, more public-spirited, than the mere boarder. But the state's chief concern for the family is due to the fact that it must depend so largely upon home training for its supply of healthy, intelligent, upright citizens.[26]

Child-Training.

§ 20. In the upbringing of childhood, as between heredity, training, and conversion, the greatest of these is conversion; but it is greatly promoted before and after by heredity and training.[27]

§ 21. Let the White Cross be raised everywhere.[28] When a military officer, about to tell a foul story, said, in the presence of General Grant, "I believe there are no ladies present," General Grant replied emphatically, "There are *gentlemen* present." The story was not told. In like case preachers even have sometimes failed to protest—alas, in some cases, it is the preacher who tells the story.

White Cross.

Colonel T. W. Higginson was a contributor, with other officers, to a symposium in the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* concerning the most striking instance of bravery observed by them during the late war. He says: "On mature reflection, passing by some hairbreadth escapes, I should award the palm to something done by a young assistant surgeon of mine, not quite twenty-one years old, Dr. Thomas T. Miner, then of Hartford, Conn. It was at an exceed-

ingly convivial supper-party of officers, at Beaufort, S. C., to which a few of my younger subalterns had been invited. I saw them go with some regret, since whisky was rarely used in my regiment, and I had reason to think that it would circulate pretty freely at this entertainment. About Dr. Miner I had no solicitude, for he never drank it. Later I heard from some of the other officers present what had happened. They sat late and the fun grew fast and furious, the songs sung becoming gradually of that class which Thackeray's Colonel Newcome did not approve. Some of the guests tried to get away, but could not; and those who attempted it were required to furnish in each case a song, a story, or a toast. Miner was called upon for his share, and there was a little hush as he rose up. He had a singularly pure and boyish face, and his manliness of character was known to all. He said, 'Gentlemen, I cannot give you a song or a story, but I will offer a toast, which I will drink in water, and you shall drink as you please. That toast is, Our Mothers.' Of course, an atom of priggishness or self-consciousness would have spoiled the whole suggestion. No such quality was visible. The shot told; the party quieted down from that moment and soon broke up. The next morning no less than three officers from different regiments rode out to my camp, all men older than Dr. Miner and of higher rank, to thank him for the simplicity and courage of his rebuke. It was from them I first learned what had happened. Anyone who has had much to do with young men will admit, I think, that it cost more courage to do what he did than to ride up to the cannon's mouth."

Such courage as that is daily needed among young men; not for their own sakes only, but also for the defense of the very foundations of the family. In one of the German universities, where unclean stories were formerly expected on convivial occasions, a corps of the students

have adopted white caps as a symbol of the purity of word and deed on which they have resolved.

Such heroes, rich in noblest heredity, can say with the ancient knight :

> " My strength is as the strength of ten
> Because my heart is pure."

There are many such knights of purity among our young men. The Kentucky lawyer who, in a Washington Court, to excuse his foul client and himself, raised the usual plea of detected villains, " They all do it," ought to have been sued for slander by the pure men of his own city. Let us cherish no unfounded suspicions, but be sure this evil is so great that there is no danger of doing too much either in prevention or cure.[29]

§ 22. Not only our tobacco stores and picture stores and theater bill boards but our homes are becoming decidedly Frenchy in their "art."[30] Dr. Parkhurst tells of paintings in the parlors of some of his church people that no one would venture to look at except when alone. The pictures on the home walls should be not merely innocent but a power for good ; scenes of heroism and self-sacrifice, such as, " The Huguenot Lover," " Christ or Diana," " The Rich Young Ruler," which in photographs, if not in engravings, come within range of even the cottager's purse. The pictures that surround childhood are a vital part of its training.[31]

Purity in Art.

§ 23. Hygienic education, including both information and exercise, important in all schools, should be especially insisted on in schools for girls. In this age of " rights " a child's right to be well born should be jealously guarded by society, for its own sake as well as the child's. The ancients were not wholly wrong in connecting disease and sin. Sin often causes disease, and disease often occasions sin. Dr. H. S. Pomeroy, referring to the habit of walking among British women, says : " This cus-

tom must come in vogue here if we are to have strong and healthy women among the upper classes." [32]

§ 24. Intemperance, beyond its hygienic and moral menace to the victim, is a social peril, not only in its relation to politics and pauperism and disorder, but especially in its relations to heredity and home training. Not only the drunkard but the tippler also gives to society defective progeny, predisposed to disease and immorality ; and, by the father's evil example in the home, if not by divorce or separation due to his cruelty or shiftlessness, also prevents proper family training. [33]

Intemperance as Related to the Family.

§ 25. In the department of heredity, far above the negative quality of physical purity towers the positive power of true motherhood. Professor Drummond, who makes evolution "a process not a power" and so theistic, although he has not canceled the Scotch verdict against all forms of evolution, [34] has given us in his *Ascent of Man*, a true and beautiful distinction between the selfish masculine struggle for life and the unselfish feminine "struggle for the life of others"—selfish nutrition being the chief function of the male ; unselfish reproduction, of the female, in all forms of life. He finds in the earliest motherhood of the animal world the germs of its loftiest self-sacrifice. [35] But in the controversy between Professor Drummond and Mr. Benjamin Kidd, while the latter may well stand corrected as to his claim that animal evolution has no element of self-sacrifice, he is profoundly right in claiming that the altruism that has developed social ethics was effectively introduced by Christ, nineteen centuries ago. [36] Even cultured motherhood in Greece and Rome exposed and killed unwelcome offspring. It is Christian mother-love only that fully realizes that apostrophe in the thirteenth chapter of Corinthians to the love that "seeketh not her own,

Motherhood.

beareth all things, believeth all things," and "never faileth." What we think of as natural family love is largely the outcome of centuries of Christian teaching as to the sacred right to life of every human soul. Christianity has "turned the hearts of fathers to the children."[37]

§ 26. While family heredity counts for much, family *training* counts for more. Mr. W. M. F. Round, of the New York Prison Association, shows very clearly, from the experiments of child-saving institutions, that good training can in most cases checkmate bad heredity.[38] As a rule the best blood can be overmatched by bad training, or the worst by good training. Hence, right home training is even more important to the individual and to society than heredity.[39]

Training Mightier than Heredity.

Home is the divinely appointed training school of obedience, self-control, and unselfishness. Parents who do not insist on strict obedience in their children are the enemies not only of their children but also of society. Visiting Sing Sing Prison the warden said to me, "Obedience is the first lesson we have to teach here." Many have to learn it there because they did not learn it at home. Of 1120 convicts in Michigan in four years ending 1881, 617 are said to have come from homes where one or both parents were professedly pious.* It is wise, to a certain degree, to win childhood to study and obedience by kindergarten attractions, but in a child's earliest years he needs also to be trained to do things, even when he does not wish to, because he is told to do so ; to obey authority, and subordinate pleasure to duty. The kindergarten itself, I believe, should introduce at times such discipline, as well as plays ; cultivating the will as well as intellect and emotion ; and much more should the

* This is stated in Rev. Dr. Clokey's *Dying at the Top*, *p.* 81.

home, beginning at the cradle.[40] The demand for the curfew is the modern parent's confession of lost authority.

§ 27. Labor questions, many of them, are at their roots largely questions of the family, affecting both heredity and training. In 1760 manufacturing in England was done by hand in and about the homes, family by family. When the invention of the steam-engine took men from their homes to factories, it not only gave the father a less healthy place of work, but also separated him nearly all day from his household, and so from opportunities for training his children. What was far worse, as machinery took the place of muscle, the mother and child[41] were also summoned to the unhealthy factory, with further loss in home training and new temptations to social vices. In its own defense the state should seek to prevent wages from sinking to the point where mothers must be wage-earners instead of child-trainers. Labor statistics show that even in the United States wages have so fallen in many cases.[42] Because the home is the social unit, the most fundamental elements of labor reform are those which aim to prohibit child labor and to surround women's work with hygienic and moral safeguards.[43]

Child Labor and Woman's Work.

§ 28. Providing suitable homes for families is a theme that belongs here. Christian training and crowded tenements[44] are contradictions. As Rev. Dr. A. J. F. Behrends has said, "Overcrowding is first lieutenant in the army of paupers and criminals, whose captaincy belongs to intemperance." Mr. Jacob A. Riis says, "The family home is the basis on which our modern civilization rests." One of the most serious difficulties in improving the morals of the negroes is their one-room cabins. So also a prominent difficulty in civilizing Indians is the lodging of the whole family together in the tepee. For the best moral culture there

Tenement House Reform.

should be one room for *each*, not one room for *all* the members of a family. But in the crowded tenements of the New York slums there are single rooms that serve in each case not only as the only living room of a whole family, but also as a boarding-house and sweat-shop.[45]

"There amid the glooming alleys Progress halts on palsied feet,
Crime and hunger cast our maidens by the thousand on the street."
TENNYSON: *Locksley Hall Sixty Years After.*

In Mexico the traveler is shown the lofty altar of stone, where in ancient times the Aztec priest at the hour of worship cut the heart from some beautiful maiden who had been selected for sacrifice, and laid it, all throbbing, on the altar as an offering to the Sun-god. So, in the crowded tenements, which are maintained by miserly greed, and occupied by prodigal lust, innocent girlhood and boyhood are daily sacrificed. (See map in Appendix on this lecture.)

§ 29. The investigation of the slums of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Chicago, by order of Congress, under supervision of that skilled statistician, Hon. Carroll D. Wright, in 1894, spoiled much of the slumming literature. For one thing, it shows that the slums are not as unhealthy as supposed,[46] which is doubtless due to the fact that the occupants of the crowded, unattractive dwellings spend more time in the open air than those whose homes are more attractive. Another equally surprising fact shown by the investigation is that the average earnings of the occupants of the slums are quite up to the average earnings of the people at large. They prefer fewer rooms and more rum.[47] The investigation shows that in the slums there are not only more lodgers to a building than elsewhere, but also more saloons in proportion to the population than elsewhere—and a larger percentage of foreigners, of course, than in the remainder of the city, in each case.

§ 30. But in the discussion of social problems the slums have had too large a place. They are mostly confined to the largest cities, and are not the customary habitat of working men, whose homes in the smaller cities usually have an air of frugal comfort. Except in New York City, where land is of great value, the industrious workman may, if he will, secure a little home of his own, usually in the suburbs,[48] through small weekly payments to a Building and Loan Association. The motto of the United States League of Building Associations is, "The American home the safeguard of American liberties." The Ninth Annual Report of the U. S. Department of Labor, issued late in 1894, is devoted wholly to these associations, which are accurately defined as cooperative banks. It is an interesting fact that Hon. Carroll D. Wright should have issued almost simultaneously this volume on labor's self-help and his Chicago strike report, which advocates as strongly state help. The former report calls these building associations "a unique private banking business," and declares that it secures to the workmen who unite in them "not only all the benefits of a savings bank, but the benefit of constantly accruing compound interest." These associations help people of small earnings, by constant saving, to build little homes of their own, as 290,803 have done. An insurance feature is sometimes added to secure the association and the member against any loss in case of death. The insurance pays whatever balance may be due on a house at one's death, and leaves it unencumbered to his wife and children. The total of dues and profits which workmen have invested in these associations is $450,667,594. Of 5838 associations, only 35 showed net loss for the year, and this amounted to a total of only $23,322. Those who belong to these associations are powerfully stimulated not only to thrift, but also to sobriety and sta-

Building Associations.

bility.* The fact that less than one-third of a million have yet acquired homes by them shows that they are not as yet a large element in the solution of the problems of poverty, but the facts of this report, wisely used by philanthropists, ought to make them much more so. It would seem that only those who have something more than a "living wage" could avail themselves of these associations, but many a workman's family spends more on rent and rum,[49] or upon tobacco [50] and knickknacks, than would be necessary to build a home through one of these associations.[51]

§ 31. The multiplication of social clubs is an important sociological study, not only because some of them promote the drink habit [52] and gambling by giving them seeming respectability and social attractions; not only because some of them promote impurity by their pictures and conversation and a lack of women's refining influence; not only because the purest of them often take time which should have been given to churches, now much less numerous than lodges in American cities; [53] but also because, to a multitude of fathers and sons, these social clubs interfere with their

Clubs.

* Pessimists and optimists in their opposite uses of mortgage statistics afford us valuable data, if not for hope or fear, at least for studies in logic and statistics. (See *American Magazine of Civics*, January and March, 1895.) There are mortgages and mortgages, as different from each other as blessings and curses. When the people of both East and West looked upon the West as an Arabian Nights wonderland whose beanstalks would grow fortunes in a fortnight, the East was too ready to lend, and the West to borrow at high rates of interest; and the mortgages then made became, in many cases, curses to both borrower and lender. But in statistical studies such mortgages should be distinguished from the cooperative or other mortgages by which the poor are becoming owners of their homes or farms. As a basis of all such studies, send to Census Bureau, Washington, D. C., for Bulletin 98, which shows that of every 100 families in U. S. 52 hire homes or farms, 13 own with encumbrance, 35 without.

primary duties to the home.[54] Many a man finds time for almost every "society" except the society of his wife and children. Clubs that are *social* in the sociological sense, that is, altruistic, however, are a power for good, and helpers, not enemies of the home.[55]

§ 32. Many an hour which fathers spend in societies and mothers in "society" might be better spent in patriotic home teaching of *civic duties* to the prospective citizens of their household.[56] Mothers especially should give more attention to civic matters, if for no other reasons, in order to keep step with their husbands and so prevent their temptation to seek intellectual and political comradeship elsewhere, But mothers need to study statesmanship also in order to train their children for citizenship. I have sometimes assumed to prove that women are really less fond of gossip than men by showing that they do not so generally read the newspapers. But while all might with profit skip the gossip, women, especially mothers, should more studiously than they do, as a rule, follow the important news, pondering not only the facts but also the political philosophy underlying them ; for instance, the frequent riots of recent years have taught all who read the papers carefully the relative powers of mayor, sheriff, governor, and President, as responsible in that order for the suppression of lawlessness in our cities.

Home Teaching of Civics.

§ 33. Patriotic Christian women should arouse their sisters to greater interest in the social problems that so urgently call for their aid. That even "society women" are susceptible to such interest I found at a summer hotel in 1894, where, having shown the New York society ladies present a ballot on reform,[57] I was eagerly requested by them, after a two hours' morning discussion to hold an afternoon conference for them especially, at which they showed themselves uninformed indeed but eager to understand and help moral reforms. They

apparently agreed with me that if, instead of giving their philanthropic efforts wholly to charity—as is too much the custom with women of wealth—they should devote a part of them to the preventive work of reform, they would render yet greater aid to charity by reducing the necessity for it.

§ 34. There is not time to set in array the arguments for and against woman suffrage,[68] which is receiving unprecedented attention from legislators the world over; but certainly our suffrage laws need radical revision in many respects, and since 1890 I have been suggesting that a higher standard be decided upon to take effect at the beginning of the new century, close at hand. Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe—whose great book was really "the first draft of emancipation"; to whom, said a Confederate general, Lee surrendered at Appomattox; who could not drop a vote into the ballot box but who put a book into politics which outweighed what was then the majority vote—Mrs. Stowe is reported to have said to an unlettered negro servant in her Florida orange grove, who had at least a legal right to suffrage, "Sambo, don't you think I ought to have a right to vote as well as you?" "La, missus," was the reply, "does you think women has sense enough to vote?" Woman Suffrage.

§ 35. As conversion is more to a child than heredity or training, home religion is the primary sociological requisite. The writer, when asked what are the most serious social perils discovered in more than eighty thousand miles of travel as a student of social reforms, is accustomed to answer, Not intemperance or impurity or gambling or Sabbath-breaking, but the fact that *nine-tenths* of the Christian families of our cities do not maintain daily home worship, while many parents in the same also fail to take the children regularly to public worship, depending on the Sabbath-school teacher to do in half an hour per week the work in a child's soul Home Religion.

which God has committed chiefly to parents and pastor. While parents are at fault, church authorities are also to be blamed, since those churches that plan for it and expect it secure both a general observance of family worship and a general attendance of children at church. As daily dew is more influential upon the harvest than occasional rains, daily home worship, with Christian example and conversation, is more influential toward producing the nobler society of purity and justice and brotherhood, which is the kingdom of God, than any improvement in church worship and work. Although family religion should not *end* with the family Bible and the family pew, it should *begin* there ; and those who lack these usually lack the Christian example and the Christian conversation that should support them. There is nothing by which society would be more radically benefited than by promoting home worship ; not by multiplying it only, but especially by making it more attractive and helpful. This has been done in some churches by the authorities furnishing a list of daily readings for united use in all the families of the congregation, the readings being lighted up by sermons and prayer-meeting talks just preceding,[59] and also by such correct Bible pictures as those of Holland's Bible, which, unlike those of "the old masters" of misrepresentation, are not "flustrations" of the text. We could tell of a household where, even before the use of such pictures, by selecting the narrative portions of the Bible and accompanying the reading with brief words of explanation, lively boys of six and four years of age were so interested as to be unwilling to have the reading stopped, even with a second chapter—so interested as to be able to give account of the preceding reading at the opening of the next, in response to questions.

Because family religion is the primary sociological requisite,[60] the Sabbath as the Home Day should be

sacredly guarded, not only against work and dissipation, but also against Sunday visiting. That only day in all the week when in these times complete family life is possible, should not be invaded by outsiders.[61] Statistics contain no sadder, no more serious fact than that the Greed Brothers, the two sons of selfishness, the miserly greed for gold and the prodigal greed for pleasure, invade every sixth home in our land more or less regularly on the Sabbath, and drag away father or son or daughter to unmerciful and unnecessary Sunday work. A child in such a home, when the mother read the story of the seven days of creation, said pathetically, "Mamma, we will have to get God to make an eighth day, so that father can be home sometimes, like the fathers in other homes that have a loving day." God has made "the eighth day," as Ezekiel, and John, and the "Fathers" call the Lord's Day,—the Sabbath that was "made for man," for every man,—and let us see to it that no selfishness or thoughtlessness of ourselves or others deprive him of it.[62]

The Sabbath as the Home Day.

On the Home Day we see combined at their best the two surviving institutions of Eden, the family and the Sabbath, the Jacin and Boaz pillars of strength and beauty which stood before that temple of innocence; and though scarred by the fall, still they stand, like majestic pillars amid surrounding ruins and hovels at Rome, and behind those pillars, in the Christian Sabbath at home, we find, nearer than anywhere else on earth, our Paradise regained.

II. Education.

§ 36. The chief educational forces at work on social problems are child-saving institutions, common schools, the Sabbath, university extension, the university settlements, and the press. Those who sneer at "paternal government" would be the first to object if government

were to withdraw from its most paternal function, education, in which, preeminently, the state stands in *loco parentis*. It is found that society needs to supplement the educational and training functions of the home not only by public schools but also by additional institutions.

§ 37. The first serious problem encountered in this connection is the increasing disposition of parents among the poor to shirk their God-given responsibilities by turning over to child-saving institutions children who are not orphans—not even half orphans, in many cases—merely to relieve themselves of care and cost through "child storage at public expense."[63] This is done not only in case of reputable asylums, but also in the case of reform schools, which put a stigma for life upon their inmates. One of the saddest sights I ever saw was a reform school kindergarten, containing seventy-seven children from half a State, eight-year-old boys and girls, some of them really younger, but all sworn by their parents or guardians to be *eight and incorrigible*. In such cases a just administration would *hold the parents to be reformed* and send the children to adopted parents of a nobler type. Many of these children, under kindly and firm mothering by the kindergarten teacher, proved to be as tractable as average children. It is doubtful if any child of eight can properly be considered "incorrigible"; and if any such there be, their parents or guardians are the guilty parties, save where society has allowed wages to fall so low that the mother must work away from home.

Parental Shirking.

It would at first thought seem that in any case children should be taken from such parents as seek to be rid of them, but it should be remembered that "evil is wrought for want of thought," and that proper rebukes from the bench and the pulpit and the press would shame many of those who cast off their own children, would at last shame society itself into a better course.

This parental shirking is not confined to the poor,

but appears in the alarming tendency of well-to-do-parents, who have both leisure and money, to evade their duties to the bodies and minds and souls of their children, and throw the whole responsibility upon nurses, schoolmasters, and Sabbath-schools.[64]

The exiling of children by their own parents is aggravated when the child-saving institutions also have a financial interest in such transfers; as in New York State, for instance, where the state government appropriates such a stated sum for each inmate, which, by economy in feeding and dressing, can be made to leave a profit on each child for the sect which has them in charge.[65]

§ 38. This not only puts a premium on the unwholesome exiling of children from their own homes, but also prevents their transfer from the institution to homes that would adopt them; which last is now deemed by the masters of the art of child-saving to be the chief function of all children's aid societies. They should not be "homes," but only home-finders.[66]

Congregate vs. Placing-out Plan.

Not that the street waifs should be shipped at once to country homes, as in the reaction from the congregate to the placing-out plan was in some cases attempted; since many children need a few weeks or months of physical, or mental, or moral training to put them in condition to be adopted with a chance of permanence in the new home.

It has also been found, by the Philadelphia Children's Aid Society, that in order that the child thus adopted by some farmer shall not be skimped in education and recreation, and overworked to make good the expense of his living, it is best to pay the child's board for a while in the new home at a rate corresponding to the actual cost of his former support in the institution. This enables the society to secure for the child a better grade of homes and a more complete enjoyment of such privileges in the new home as would be given to those born into it.

§ 39. While children are in child-saving institutions it is of utmost importance that moral education shall be more than incidental, rather *central* as most needed,[67] especially in the case of those who have missed the benediction of Christian homes. One of the arguments against state aid is that, when it is received, Christian teaching is embarrassed or endangered. Private charity is Christian, and those appointed to dispense it are likely to be, if free. But state aid means political superintendence or supervision, with less chance of thorough teaching of Christian morals, for fear of the saloon vote, or some other vote. There is a common Christianity that can be taught, that is taught in some institutions, to Protestant and Roman Catholic children together without offense; but in public institutions there is danger of interference. For this reason, among others, child-saving institutions, so far as possible, should be supported wholly and so controlled fully by Christians.

State Schools for Dependent Children.

§ 40. But when voluntary charity has done its best, even if it should provide for all children whose guardians were willing for them to receive its aid, there would remain a larger list of the little waifs and strays unprovided for, because their guardians would not willingly allow them to be rescued from the crime school of the street. For such are needed non-sectarian state schools, such as the State Public School for Dependent Children at Coldwater, Mich., which has been copied by Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Rhode Island, to which superintendents of the poor, under approval of probate judges, may commit boys and girls, not as incorrigible, but as uncared for.

Trade Schools.

§ 41. Industrial education, important in all schools, is especially so in all institutions for dependent, defective or delinquent children.[68] Trade schools[69] put needed and deserved honor upon mechanical skill, and partly correct the injustice of

those labor unions which, in the interest of imported labor, make it difficult for American boys to enter upon apprenticeships.[70]

It must be confessed that American boys are not overeager for manual work. They think that girls prefer soft-handed clerks who do girls' work at eight dollars per week rather than strong-handed, skilful mechanics who earn three times as much. When a carpenter shop is a part of every school we shall perhaps be rid of the idea that it is more honorable to measure tape than to follow the Founder of Christianity in the work of a mechanic.

Summer Charities.

§ 42. One of the most commendable forms of child-saving work, though related to education only as recess to study, is the Fresh Air Fund, including not only the two weeks' outing in the country given to thousands of poor city children, but also the seaside homes for children and bathing pavilions and picnic grounds and free excursions.[71] This science of summer charity is now so perfected in New York City that mothers who can spare but an hour or two are supplied systematically with ferry tickets for boats having a long crossing, that they may get a breath of air with their babes. The yard in the rear of the King's Daughters' Tenement House Station in New York City,[72] to whose scanty shade and plays the neighboring children come eagerly, is beautifully called, "The King's Garden," a reminder that the little visitors, ragged as they are, are the King's children. Altruism, which started at the cradle in Bethlehem, has at last reached "children's rights." Jesus said, "Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these, ye did it unto me." In Rome untold wealth in jewels is bestowed upon the Bambino, the wooden image of the Christ-child. Better far to bestow it upon his living images, the children of cradles as lowly as his. It is surely a sign not only of growing humanity but also of increasing wisdom that even child's

play is receiving such large attention. We may hope that, when the charitable movement for child's play is complete, the more important problem of child labor [73] will receive the serious attention which it has so long demanded in vain.

Home and School Cooperation.

§ 43. Turning now to such homes as expect no charitable help in the up-bringing of their children, but only such aid as they are entitled to receive in return for taxes or tuition from the schools, it is important to emphasize the fact that when, in the division of labor, the teacher comes into a child's life it is not as a substitute for parental education, but only to supplement it. A child spends more of its childhood and youth at home than at school, and is learning good or ill every hour in both. The child learns more in the first five years, before school life begins, than in any other five years of life,[74] sometimes more of bad grammar and worse morals than it can unlearn in all the rest of its life. Even if women had all been called to motherhood, the most liberal education might well be bestowed upon them as their children's first and best teachers, who begin the teaching of each child by heredity before its birth. If a mother has missed a liberal education, the first whisper of motherhood should call her to mental preparation. Mothers should read something besides novels, that they may be not only intellectual companions for their husbands, but intellectual leaders to their children. And fathers for like reasons should know something besides news.[75] The home circle should be a literary and scientific circle, not a mere boarding-house and sewing circle, a dreary round of eating and chatting.

Newspapers in the Home.

§ 44. The newspaper, which Lowell called the "goose-pond of village gossip," [76] must bear a part of the responsibility for parental neglect of child-training. It lies on the doorstep when the family awakens, and crowds out not only morning worship but

also family conversation at breakfast. If a few headings are read aloud, the father is too eager for more to so explain the news as to make it of educational value. The father returns at night having read another afternoon instalment of horrors that are better not told at all, especially to children.[77] The newspaper has crowded out all reading of books or even magazines, and he knows nothing save the partizan falsehoods and sensations of the paper, and so talks of these or, better, of nothing.

Parents should make themselves capable of cooperating effectively with the schools in the education of their children by frequent visits to the schools.

§ 45. But *the* school question is, "Shall we maintain the American common school essentially as it was when it played so large a part in the making of the Republic?"[78] "The School Question."

The official withdrawal, by the Roman Catholic authorities in the States of New York, New Jersey, and Maryland, in 1893–94, of the demand for an immediate legislative division of public-school funds, was manifestly only a postponement, for their official claims that the fund ought to be divided have not been withdrawn.[79] The public having been tested by these proposals—which, even if not made by, are surely in accord with, the highest Roman Catholic authorities—it was found inexpedient to press the matter. The following statement of these proposals, made by *The Catholic Review* so recently as December 9, 1893, sounds almost humorous in its last sentence, in view of the Protestant protests they aroused everywhere. "Let our neighbors who are satisfied with the present secular system keep it for themselves, and let us have the denominational system ; the State paying for the secular studies and we paying for the religious train- of our young. Everybody will be satisfied." "Everybody" was not "satisfied"—not by sixty millions or so ; and the plan must therefore wait for a more favorable

season. But the debate should go right on, if only to unite the friends of the public schools, including many, if not most, of the Roman Catholic laity [80] and some of the clergy, on some defensible, impregnable position.

The Roman Catholic clergy, though it manifestly includes two parties in this country, is generally—not unanimously—united on the following plan (as stated by *The Catholic Review* of February 12, 1893), and the frequent recent protests of Roman Catholics, that they are "not opposed to the public schools," are to be interpreted accordingly: (1) Children of Roman Catholic parents are to be sent to public schools when no other education is available, and in such cases efforts are to be made to eliminate any teaching that would displease Roman Catholics, whether in histories or other books. (2) In the absence of any better scheme the Faribault plan—a failure in Faribault, but in operation in many other places—is commended as a good one, since by it Roman Catholic schools, in Roman Catholic buildings, taught by Roman Catholic sisters in costume,[81] are supported by public funds on the easy condition that the sectarian instruction, though given in the same buildings, shall be given after or before school hours. (3) But neither of the before-mentioned plans is allowable where a parish is able to support, or (4), best of all, the nation or State or city can be induced to support regular parochial schools, in which religious teaching is always to be unrestricted, and in which secular education, though open to civil inspection and bound to reach a certain standard in case of state support, is to be in any case independent of state control. In the words of *The Catholic Review*, February 26, 1893: "Let the State imitate the example of Catholic Belgium and grant aid to any school where twenty *bona fide* scholars can be gathered, without reference to the question of religion." [82] This last is the

goal to which both clerical parties in the Roman Catholic Church press forward unitedly.

§ 46. Can we find a basis for equal unity on the other side of the school question?

The school question is, Can the common Christianity be taught in the common schools in an unsectarian manner as the necessary basis of common Christian morals? And the answer is: It *can be*, for it *has been*—has been from the first to this day in our rural schools; has been in our cities until they were recently foreignized; in both cases without offending "the consciences of parents" save as priests sometimes stirred them up; has been for many years by united action of Protestants and Roman Catholics in a case which it is our present purpose to present at length—a case which seems to the writer to point to such a conclusive solution of this warlike agitation as all fair-minded persons in both camps can accept.

§ 47. But, first of all, let us state the logical basis on which the Roman Catholic claim for state support of parochial or sectarian schools is based. I shall now put into logical order the substance of propositions, lying before me as I write, in the speeches of archbishops and others at the recent Catholic Congress in Chicago; in recent editorials of *The Catholic Review*, the foremost Roman Catholic periodical in this country, which I have read with care for years; and in the addresses of Monsignor Satolli.

1. In order to social security and good citizenship the state must see to it that the young receive moral as well as mental education.[83]

2. The Sabbath-schools cannot be depended on to furnish this moral education, for many of our youth do not attend any Sabbath-school, Protestant or Roman Catholic, and those who do attend get only one hour per week, which is wholly insufficient.

3. Nor can parents be relied on to furnish this neces-

sary moral education, for many of them are not able, and many more are not disposed to give it.

4. Private schools (including parochials, Protestant and Catholic) include less than half a tithe of the children of school age.

5. The day schools must therefore be enlisted.

6. The morality taught, in order to be effective, must be, not a powerless pagan morality, without authority, but a morality with God and judgment behind it; and in this country, declared by the National Supreme Court to be "a Christian nation," it should be a Christian morality.

The foregoing propositions—from which the Roman Catholic authorities leap to the "lame and impotent conclusion" that denominational schools are the only kind in which Christian morals can be adequately taught in a land of many sects, and that "the public school" should therefore, in the words of Archbishop Ryan—see *Catholic Review*, May 6, 1893—"be placed on its true plane in this country, the denominational system"—the foregoing numbered propositions, I repeat, have a wonderfully familiar look. In fact, these guns, now turned against our schools, are the very ones we used in defense of the Bible in the schools a score of years ago, and then surrendered them for the sake of peace. On examination they are found to be of American, not of Roman make.

§ 48. It is not enough to reply to the Roman Catholic attack on the "godless schools" of our cities—I have found by circular of inquiry that the Bible is generally retained in the rural schools—I repeat, it is not enough to reply that those who attack our schools because they are "godless" *made them so.* We were as foolish in consenting to banish the Bible from our schools as they were unfair in asking us to make the schools "godless" in order to strengthen their argument against them. We ought to have seen that when they

"Godless Schools."

cried, "sectarian schools," because of the reading of the Bible, without note or comment, in a version differing scarcely at all from their own, it was not the Bible they were attacking but the public school itself, whose atmosphere they deemed too unsectarian for children whom they had taught to believe that there is only one true Church. We ought to have seen that compromise, instead of bringing peace, would only encourage the foes of our schools to continue the war.

But our "godless schools," so far as they are "godless," however made so, cannot be defended on American principles. We must retake those surrendered guns and reoccupy the only defensible position for an American Christian nation, namely, that our public schools shall again teach Christian morals[84] in an unsectarian manner as a necessary basis of social security and good citizenship.[85]

Christian morals *can be* so taught, for they *were* so taught in all our public schools in the making of America. The school-teacher of New England, as I remember him, was only second to the pastor as a moral force in the community. He showed as much solicitude for the morals as for the minds of his pupils. He sought to make them not only smart but good. He did not forget, what Roman Catholics so often remind us of since they have banished moral education from the schools, that mental education only prepares those of undeveloped or depraved morals to be the more dangerous criminals; that ignorance may furnish the bank-breaker, but only education can furnish the bank-wrecker; that an educated criminal may embezzle more in a day than a retail thief can steal in a lifetime.[86] The teacher imparted moral force as he read reverently from the Bible as the moral law; as he prayed, not only in the words of the Lord's Prayer but in those days often in his own words also, with reference to the special needs of pupils, but never in a

sectarian spirit; and as he met wayward pupils after school for earnest admonition.

In these days of a more complex and more critical population, it might be wise in some cases to put in place of the extemporaneous freedom of former years and the timid secularity of recent times, carefully prepared schedules of Bible readings [87] and text-books of morals from which controverted points had been excluded, so far as practicable, by mutual agreement of Protestant and Roman Catholic authorities, six-sevenths of whose creeds, as we shall show, is "common Christianity" [88] that can be taught in unison for six days per week, leaving the Sabbath for sectarian teaching in the case of those who do not believe that even then it is better to teach the "common Christianity."

Cooperation of Protestants and Catholics.

§ 49. Such a plan is practicable, for it is *practised*. The case I am to cite, though not itself the solution of the school question, points straight to it. It is the case of the Pennsylvania Reform School at Morganza, where our "common Christianity," with special reference to Christian morals, has been taught daily to the whole school for many years by Protestant teachers from an unsectarian Christian text-book, written for this purpose by a Roman Catholic priest, Father Canevan of Pittsburg; a text-book which has been approved by his bishop, approved also by a Presbyterian editor on the board of management and by other Protestants; and which is used, under the priest's approval, in conjunction with the daily study of the International Sabbath-school Lessons, as expounded in the undenominational lesson leaves of The American Sunday School Union, and impressed by such hymns as "Rock of Ages." These lessons have been studied more than sixteen years, long enough to traverse the whole Bible, by selections, twice and more. These studies occupy fifteen minutes of each week-day evening, and a

longer time in the Sabbath-school, in which last, also, the whole school unites. The work is largely memorizing the form of sound words. For denominational teaching a priest meets Roman Catholic children on Monday evenings. Extended conversations with Father Canevan and with the superintendent of the institution, Mr. J. A. Quay, show that the plan has been highly satisfactory to all concerned. The bishop's very suggestive letter of approval is as follows :

"ALLEGHENY CITY, December 20, 1890.

"MR. J. A. QUAY :

"DEAR SIR : The book, *Easy Lessons in Christian Doctrine*, is the only book of religious instruction that has come under my notice, which claims to keep within the lines of belief common to all who profess faith in Jesus Christ. It is, therefore, well suited for a text-book in public institutions where Catholics and Protestants cannot, at all times, receive separate religious instructions. Catholics can accept all that the book contains ; and the important truths of the Catholic religion which it does not contain can readily be supplied by the priest who conducts the special services for the Catholic inmates of the institution in which your book is issued.

"Respectfully yours,

"R. PHELAN, Bishop of Pittsburg."

The fact that this harmonious cooperation of Protestants and Roman Catholics in teaching Christian morals is found in a reform school does not in any way affect the main argument of this topic. The school is also a public school, supported and controlled by the State, and there is not one word in the text-book that makes it any less appropriate for other public schools. Indeed it is avowedly prepared for "mixed schools," wherever found. The bishop's letter and this long experiment prove that there is a "common Christianity" which can be taught to Protestant and Roman Catholic children in unison, and that "the important truths of the Catholic religion," not included in this "common Christianity," can be supplied in "special services" on one day of each week.

My own examination of this significant text-book shows that it is a fair expression of the common beliefs of those who severally claim to be "Catholic" and "orthodox," and who, with their families, make up seven-tenths at least of our population. In public schools, attended by children of good parents, the moral education might well include less theology and more of the Bible. I am not advocating the use of this particular text-book, although I have seen no better catechism anywhere. But this book and its use[89] do prove that so far as Roman Catholics and evangelical Protestants are concerned there is no "school problem," only a case worked up for the sake of argument and appropriations.[90]

§ 50. The only real problem concerns the rights of the minority whose views of religion are opposed to both the "Catholic" and the "orthodox." Certainly this minority cannot rightly ask the majority in a Christian republic to omit for their sakes that teaching of Christian morals which the majority believe essential not only to individual good but also to the welfare of the state. Better than such omission to permit the minority to keep their children out of school during the time devoted to Christian morals on guarantees to provide for their moral training otherwise. Few, if any, would do this.

As to the Jews.

Some would be disposed to make a text-book of morality with God behind it but not a divine Christ, in order to conciliate this minority of Hebrews and "liberals," following the precedent of our State Constitutions and most of our Thanksgiving proclamations.[91] This would be far better than to continue our "godless schools"; but those who believe, with the National Supreme Court, that "This is a Christian nation," may consistently insist, "with malice toward none and charity for all," that the public schools of a "Christian nation" shall teach an authoritative Christian morality.

When our nation is outstripping the world in divorce and crime, and outstripping its own growth in both these and in drink, surely moral education of the young must be counted a necessity of life to the Republic.

§ 51. Who will say that our future citizens would not be as profitably employed in studying Christian morality as in studying Greek mythology and Roman wars and French phrases? Why may not the school children of a Christian nation study the life and works of Christ as well as those of lesser men? In the words of Archbishop Ryan at the Catholic Congress: "Are chastity and honesty and obedience to law less important than arithmetic and grammar?" In that reform school, which provides for but half a State, I heard these lessons in morals recited by a kindergarten class of seventy-seven. If we would stay the appaling growth of reform schools we must reform our common schools by introducing moral teaching, in which prevention is far better than cure.[92]

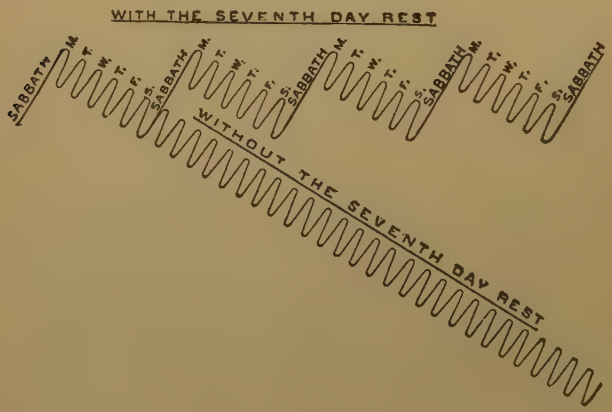
Whatever may be thought of moral text-books, the facts we have cited prove that there can be no reasonable objection made by Roman Catholics, or in their behalf, to the American custom of reading the Bible without note or comment in the public schools. Protestants and Roman Catholics have cooperated in our great national conflicts with slavery, intemperance, divorce, impurity, gambling, and Sabbath-breaking. Let Roman Catholics also cooperate with us to restore and increase the teaching of Christian morality in our public schools. That some of them will do so is foretokened by the following words from one of their ablest papers, the New York *Tablet*:* "The pretense of the enemies of our public schools that the schoolroom is a point of attack against the faith of Catholic children is preposterous, and is

* Quoted in *The Congregationalist*, February 16, 1863.

calculated to excite the indignation and resentment of non-Catholics, who know it to be untrue. Neither is it true, as pretended, that there is any attempt made in the public schools to lead the young into indifference with regard to all religion, which is sure to end in infidelity. . . The separate education of the youth of the country tends to destroy the principle of homogeneity in our population, creates suspicion and distrust in its ranks which is often perpetuated after the youth attains to manhood, to the injury of the individual and the community."

Scientific Temperance Education.

§ 52. We may soon expect larger interest in several moral reforms as a result of the scientific temperance education which Mrs. Mary H. Hunt and the W. C. T. U. have introduced in nearly all our States. Sixteen millions of children, in January, 1895, were under these scientific temperance education laws.[93]



This compulsory hygienic education, "with special reference to alcoholics and narcotics," shows that health and strength as well as morals and religion call for total

abstinence not only from alcoholic beverages but also from tobacco,[94] and the impurity which both provoke and promote. And the hygienic necessity of Sabbath rest also to the best health and longest life is soon to be added in connection with Dr. A. Haegler's chart. (See page 98).

Dr. Haegler calls attention to the chemical facts of expenditure and repair in constituents of the blood, as demonstrated by Pillerkofer and Voit, who showed that the nightly rest after the day's work did not afford a complete recuperation of the vital forces and was insufficient to keep the mind and body in tone; but that, if this reparation is not supplemented by an occasional longer period of rest, the system is subjected to a gradual falling in pitch.[95]

Other evils should be made the subject of compulsory moral education; for instance, gambling, our national vice, in which we exceed all other nations. Even collegians are not all educated to understand that betting is the brother of burglary, whether the betting be on the pace of animals or on the price of vegetables, on the ground that in both cases there is a commercial transaction in which one gets something for nothing.[96] A few years ago, I met a college president who had not learned that only "a fair exchange is no robbery." He submitted to me, as a question of casuistry, the fact that a Governor had sent him, for educational uses, fifty dollars won at cards from a well-known merchant, and asked whether I would have kept it. To my emphatic, "No," he replied, "I kept it and gave twenty-five dollars each to two poor girls to help them through college." As I have no doubt he would have rejected fifty dollars offered by a thief as something which, in thief parlance, the giver had "won," and as I am equally certain he would not approve even the highwayman who robs the rich to help the poor, I infer that the education of this Christian college president had been neglected as

Gambling.

to the meaning of "value received," on the one hand, and of robbery, on the other.[97]

In a republic, whose very existence depends on public morality quite as much, if not more, than upon public intelligence, moral education becomes a patriotic as well as a Christian duty.

§ 53. And in this moral education the *colleges* should have a large part. They have too much assumed that such education has received sufficient attention in the homes and Sabbath-schools, and in the elementary and preparatory courses. Even Christian colleges, until recently, have given little attention to the English Bible, on this assumption. But examination shows that the average freshman does not know enough of the Bible to understand the references to it that are woven all through English literature and make such knowledge a prerequisite to intelligent reading.[98] Examination would show a like deficiency, no doubt, in scientific knowledge of temperance, purity, gambling, the Sabbath. A letter just received brings information that Mrs. Hunt has made a beginning in the introduction of scientific temperance education in the colleges, the projected American University at Washington having acceded to her petition that it should become a teacher of teachers on this subject.[99]

Colleges and Ethics.

Colleges should not only teach, but actively aid social reform. Paul, Luther, Wesley, each wrought their great reformations from the vantage ground of the best educational institutions of their times. Our nation has in two years past lost, in depreciated value and otherwise, more than the cost of our four years' war—so it is claimed—and all for lack of economic wisdom in handling the tariff and currency issues, on which our universities should have rendered decisive aid. Students, too, will study social reforms the more effectively if they study them actively. In this last there is need only of leadership.

In my reform campaigns in behalf of the Sabbath and temperance and purity at the World's Fair, I often asked colleges to send out petitions to the towns of the whole State, or to do some like work, and never in vain. Oberlin College, appealed to to make itself once more a leader in reform, gave the money and work needed to invite all the colleges of the land and all the towns of Ohio to active participation in the World's Fair Sabbath-closing war. Lawrence and Monmouth and College Springs did like work in other fields. The Allegheny Theological Seminary proved itself a power in that fight and also in defense of the Sabbath law of the State. Such a Sociological Institute as has been organized here at Princeton Seminary, studying social problems with the impartiality and zeal of Christian scholars, may have a large influence in bringing them to a just and peaceful issue.[100]

University Extension.

§ 54. University extension is a movement of cultured men, in sympathy with the higher needs of the poor, to socialize higher education, to make its outlook at least,—its facts, not its discipline— a common possession. Its projectors realized that man cannot live by bread alone; that the worst poverty is of the mind; and that it is a shallow philanthropy that enriches the larder but not the library. Therefore it was proposed, by free or cheap lectures and brief books, to put the outline of university studies within reach of all.

The movement seems to have started independently and coincidently in the English universities and in our Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle. The latter branch is by far the greatest, and it is a curious fact that Bishop J. H. Vincent, who conceived this chief agency of university extension, is not a university graduate, but was led to establish it by the memory of his own struggles for self-culture and by his own felt want of college training, which he has more than made good, but at great odds. The class of 1895 in this people's university, of

which class your speaker has the honor to be president, enrolled, at the start, fifteen thousand readers. This reading gives a broad, inspiring view of the history and literature of Greece, Rome, England, and America, with glimpses of physical and economic science. Men and women with such an outlook will not be forever wrangling over spoils, whether political or industrial, as their all. History will broaden their homes and literature lighten their labor.*

University extension might increase its usefulness by giving a larger place to social ethics, even though that might make it necessary to be less literary. Its readings and lectures include some brief studies of the labor problem. Why not add an extension of scientific temperance education in the form of health talks in public halls on the nerves, the blood, the digestive system, each given by a doctor[101] or by some other person of unquestioned scientific standing, with illustrative experiments and charts, and each showing the effect of alcohol on the part of the body under discussion; so reviving the somewhat jaded interest in temperance by connecting it with the current tendency to out-of-school scientific studies ?

§ 55. University settlements, though suggested by university extension, are a much intenser philanthropy.

University Settlements.

University extension contemplates only bright sallies of cultured thought into the lives of the poor, but the university settlement means almost a new incarnation of Christ; a coming down of cultured wealth in his name not from heaven to earth but from heaven to hell, to the very slums, for permanent, or at least continued abode. It means neighborly, yea, brotherly fellowship[102] of the most cultured

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* *The Review of Reviews* reported that more than one hundred summer schools were held in 1895. Most of these are outgrowths of Chautauqua.

with the most ignorant; of refinement with coarseness; of virtue with vice. A company of university men or women or of both make a home in the slums and identify themselves as kindly neighbors with all the local interests, with the probability that their motives will be impugned or misunderstood by some, that opposition will be met as well as gratitude—all this without earthly reward and at their own cost every way. Sometimes the "head worker," because his continued leadership for years together is needed, has his expenses provided for by a "fellowship," endowed by university friends; but the rule, and to a great extent the practice, is that each "resident" pays his own board as well as gives his time for the six months or more he devotes to this humanitarian work. He visits a certain number of poor families regularly or frequently. He conducts clubs of boys, of girls, of adults. Labor and other problems are discussed in parlor conferences. A library is provided. He seeks to improve the sanitation of the neighborhood, to secure the building of model tenements, the opening of parks and playgrounds.* Usually the settlement does not dispense charity, but sends applicants to other societies devoted to that work. But the settlement's work is itself one great embodiment of true charity—that highest charity that says, to use the expressive suggestion of Dr. Josiah Strong, not "Here is my check; send someone else," but "Here am I; send *me.*"

Such I knew to be the Christian scope and plan and ideal of university settlements when, one Sabbath morning, in New York, I made my first visit to a real one. It was about church time, but instead of a service I found the gymnasium in use. The pool-room was also open,

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* By far the most complete social settlement is Hull House, Chicago, whose head worker, Miss Jane Addams, is known in Chicago for her wise and good works as "Saint Jane." Send for *Outline Sketch.*

but on its walls I found the only recognition of the Sabbath—the most unique recognition it ever received since the world began—a notice that whereas this pool-room was open until 10.30 P. M. on other evenings, on Sunday it would close at 10. That particular morning the pool-room, though open, was idle for the reason, as I was assured, that the boys' club had gone to a Sunday ball game on Staten Island. I was told that every Saturday night there was a general dance, and that in the boys' club smoking was allowed but not card-playing. Somewhat startled by all this I was yet able to credit with a Christian spirit the founder of that "Neighborhood Guild" who had made his home in the "Typhus Ward," the "Crooked Ward," the most crowded ward of the world, for the "improvement" of his fellow men.[103] Let us be very charitable and generous as to motives, but very careful as to methods. Of course the ground for devoting the Sabbath at this settlement to amusement is that its constituency is largely Jewish and almost wholly Continental; but the American managers should at least regard the fact that Sunday amusements, such as they provide and promote, are violations of civil law, and the further fact that there is nothing that more needs to be taught in the "Crooked Ward" than strict obedience to law. This settlement in its use of the Sabbath is an extreme case. Other settlements which exclude the spiritualities of Christianity while seeking to promote its humanities, instead of using the day for amusements make it mostly an empty day, whereas, as the one day of leisure, it ought to be made in some proper way the most influential day of all. At the New York College Settlement, carried on by graduates of women's colleges, we were told that except a club meeting on Sabbath evening and sometimes a children's song service, with Christ left out to avoid offending the Jews, nothing was done on the Sabbath except by such of the residents as were religious

enough to work in some of the neighboring Sabbath-schools. The "agnostic girls," we were informed, had no part in such work. "Agnostic girls," indeed, from Wellesley and Vassar and Smith and Bryn Mawr! But let us rejoice that they are not agnostic on Christian humanities. Agnostics in heathen lands have no university settlements.

Although the university settlement idea is plainly a child of the Incarnation, and has been carried out mostly by Christian people, yet a fear of offending Jews and Roman Catholics, who together have constituted the most numerous beneficiaries, has made the question of religion one of the most perplexing with which the settlements have had to deal. Some of the settlements have concluded, no doubt from conscientious motives, that the Bible should be excluded from the library, and the name of Christ from the singing, and that no direct effort should be made for personal conversion. Even in the realm of ethics such positive measures as pledges are usually not introduced either in the department of temperance or of purity.

Among the settlements that do not think it necessary to hide their Christian motive and purpose, we do not find less success in philanthropic lines because spiritual work is also introduced. For instance, the Epworth League House of Boston, a settlement managed by Boston University, chiefly by its School of Theology, has made itself a power among the Jews and Italians of the North End. It differs from nearly all other settlements in that it is not a bachelors' hall but a *home:* one resident bringing his mother, another his wife, another his sister, to make the full round of home influences. The policy is neither to smuggle religion out nor to smuggle it in. It is not introduced unexpectedly at gatherings professing to be industrial or social or educational only; but the beneficiaries are frankly told by their

benefactors what love constrains them to their distasteful work, and invited to religious services in the settlement and at neighboring churches. One result is an Italian Methodist Church of over a hundred members, whose pastor is regarded all over Boston as the champion of Italian working men in their fight with the padrones.[104]

To denominational institutional churches, each of which should be liberally sustained by the up-town churches of its own denomination, should be attached in each case a denominational university settlement in order to combine the benefits of both institutions, each of which needs the other. The settlements all stand for humanity and happiness.[105] They need to be brought in some way into direct and avowed connection with the Christianity from which both humanity and happiness spring.

§ 56. In such a case the Sabbath will be found the greatest of educational forces at work on social problems.

The Sabbath as an Educator.

It is university extension, for in twenty-eight years of well-kept Sabbaths one has as much time for thought and self-improvement as in a college course. Twenty-eight years divided by seven gives four years. The Sabbath is the working man's college, by the aid of which the workmen of Great Britain and America have been fitted for successful self-government. For lack of it the Sabbathless French and Spanish republics are forever engaged in petty civil strife, too ignorant to govern themselves. The Sabbath also makes it possible for a multitude to apply the university settlement idea at least once a week, by going from homes of wealth and culture to the slums, to give them what they need more than charity—what will do more for them than any merely financial reform—the uplift and outlook of brotherly fellowship.

§ 57. The newspaper is the nation's common school, in a wider sense than anything else can be. The average citizen in a lifetime spends more time with his newspaper

than in school, and his mind inevitably grows like what it feeds on. It is passing strange that this age of unparalleled mechanical and mental achievements is so befogged with doubts whenever anyone suggests that there might be successful newspapers that were also clean and correct in their news-telling. An experiment or two on a charity basis proves nothing. What is needed is that some rich men shall get out of the ruts in their giving, and instead of adding to the already too numerous colleges, establish a syndicate of daily papers across the land, twenty-four hours apart, financially strong and morally pure.

The Newspaper as the People's College.

I have noted the proverb that whatever a nation would have appear in its citizens it must put into its common schools. It might also be said that a nation cannot be expected to be permanently better than its newspapers.

I am not arguing for a newspaper whose columns shall read like a church service, but only for *one that shall read like a gentleman's conversation;* one that will print no gossip or scandal that a gentleman would not speak.*

* The following sonnet from William Watson's new book, *Odes and Sonnets*, fitly rebukes the levity "in tragic presences," which the average newspaper represents and promotes:

I think the immortal servants of mankind,
Who, from their graves, watch how by slow degrees
The World-Soul greatens with the centuries,
Mourn most Man's barren levity of mind,
The ear to no grave harmonies inclined,
The witless thirst for false wit's worthless lees,
The laugh mistimed in tragic presences,
The eye to all majestic meanings blind.
O prophets, martyrs, saviors, *ye* were great,
All truth being great to you; ye deemed man more
Than a dull jest, God's ennui to amuse;
The world for you held purport; Life ye wore
Proudly, as kings their solemn robes of state;
And humbly, as the mightiest monarchs use.

It is not sufficiently known that our current daily papers are not counted clean enough even for prisons. When the Elmira Reformatory, which is still the model penal institution of the world, in spite of recent newspaper vilification, reached the point in its development when its manager, Mr. Brockway, felt that the educational influence of the world's important news ought in some way to be brought to bear on the prisoners—agreeing as he did with the universal law excluding both police gazettes[106] and daily newspapers from prisons because they describe crime in a way to multiply it—he was driven to the necessity of originating a newspaper clean enough for a prison, which is called *The Summary*. Some day society will give equal protection to its parlors, will exile crime-provoking reading from its youth before it sends them to prison. There are some leading papers that come so near the standard that they might easily be raised to it by a wave of public sentiment. But it is a sad comment on the individualistic methods of the Church, that with one-third of our population Christian communicants—one-fifth of the population evangelicals—there is not even one metropolitan daily paper which does not invite its readers to races or to rum.

We know of few educational investments for Christian funds so promising of vast influence for good as the establishment of a national syndicate of newspapers so edited, endowed, and conditioned as to be able to tell all the news correctly, concisely, completely, and cleanly.

§ 58. But, after all, if we may express in a closing sentence the importance of preventive work for the young, which is the central thought and theme of this lecture, it is easier to form than to reform; and so, if I may extend Mrs. Hunt's motto, "the star of hope of the temperance reform"—of every reform—"is over the schoolhouse"—and over the home, as at Bethlehem—over the child, over the CHRIST.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

§ 1. What is the primary social group? How does the protection afforded by law to purity compare with that afforded to property? How are property considerations unduly emphasized in sociological teaching?

§ 2. What are the associated units in normal society? What is the historical origin of society, and what its mode of development? The abnormal moral condition of our cities is partly due to what abnormal social condition?

§ 3. How is the corrupt family related to the body politic?

§ 4. Against what two evils should the Christian foundation of the family be defended?

§ 5. What is the status of monogamy and polygamy in the Bible and in the lands that base their civilization upon it? What are the two distinctive features of Christian morality? How is woman treated in the best of heathen lands? What has been the attitude of all pagan religions toward purity?

§ 6. What is the present status of the Mormon problem?

§ 7. What official investigation of divorces is the chief aid to statistical study of that subject? To what extent are divorces multiplying? What is the best, what the worst State average, and what the national?

§ 8. What is the substance of Hon. Carroll D. Wright's argument for absolute divorce for more than one cause? What reply is made to it?

§ 9. What qualifications of our seeming inferiority to other nations in the matter of marriage are suggested? How many divorces, involving how many children, were issued in 1886?

§ 10. In the way of remedies, what are the arguments for and against a national marriage and divorce amendment? What can Congress do by statute law to check lax divorce?

§ 11. How many State commissions have been appointed wholly or in part for the purpose of harmonizing State laws on marriage and divorce?

§§ 12–15. What other checks upon lax divorce are suggested? What has been the effect of recent anti-divorce agitation?

§ 16. What proportion of families are not rent by divorce?

§ 17. How is the increase of girl bachelors explained?

§ 18. How is the increase of bachelorhood among men explained?

§ 19. What is society's chief interest in the family?

§ 20. What is the relative influence of heredity, training, and conversion?

§ 21. What facts show the need and power of the White Cross?

§ 22. What should be avoided and what sought for in pictures for the home?

§ 23. Why should hygienic education be provided for girls especially, and how?

§ 24. How is intemperance especially harmful to the home?

§ 25. In the controversy between Professor Drummond and Mr. Benjamin Kidd as to altruism in nature, how far is each right?

§ 26. Is heredity or training the stronger force? What facts are cited to show that even Christian homes are not always training schools of obedience? What addition to the kindergarten is suggested?

§ 27. What labor questions are also questions of the family?

§ 28. How is overcrowding "first lieutenant in the army of paupers and criminals"?

§ 29. What surprising facts were developed as to the slums by a government investigation?

§ 30. What facts are officially reported as to building associations?

§ 31. What objections are made to social clubs? What kind of clubs are commended?

§ 32. What suggestions are made as to patriotic home teaching of civic duties?

§ 33. Is it possible to interest "society women" in social problems?

§ 34. What is said of woman suffrage and related suffrage reforms? (See note in Appendix.)

§ 35. What facts and suggestions are given as to family religion? How is a quiet Sabbath of value to the home?

§ 36. What are the six chief educational forces?

§ 37. What facts are given as to parents needlessly exiling their children to charitable and reformatory institutions? How do many of the rich shirk their parental duties? How is the transfer of children from families to institutions abetted by government action in some States?

§ 38. What is the relative value and what the functions of the congregate and placing-out plans? What is the Philadelphia placing-out plan?

§ 39. Why is moral education especially important in child-saving institutions, and how is it hindered and how promoted?

§ 40. Why is it desirable to supplement private institutions with public ones? Where are the best State schools for dependent children to be found?

§ 41. How is industrial education of value in child-saving institutions, and how in public schools?

§ 42. What summer charities are enumerated?

§ 43. What are the educational duties of the home? What modern hindrance to home teaching is mentioned?

§ 45. What is *the* school question? What claims have recently been made and postponed? What, exactly, is the whole Roman Catholic plan as to schools and school funds?

§ 46. What is the historic American plan of moral teaching in public schools?

§ 47. What is the Roman Catholic argument? How does it resemble, and how differ from, the American Protestant argument?

§ 48. How may the charge that our schools are "godless" be wisely met? How was moral culture promoted in the schools in the making of America? Why should moral as well as mental education be provided for in public schools? What changes in school devotions are suggested for our new conditions?

§ 49. What instance is given of the harmonious teaching of the common Christianity in a mixed school?

§ 50. What is said as to the rights of the Jewish and antichristian minority?

§ 51. What is the relative value of Christian morality and other school studies? What is the conclusion as to reading the Bible in the schools without note or comment? What evidence is given that some lay Catholics will stand with us for the common schools?

§ 52. To what extent has scientific temperance education been introduced in the public schools? What additional subjects of moral education are suggested? What fundamental principle underlies all forms of gambling?

§ 53. What aid might colleges appropriately give to moral reforms in the way of education and agitation?

§ 54. What is the purpose and what the most popular form of university extension? What new class of themes for extension lectures is suggested?

§ 55. What is the ideal of the university settlement? What difficulties are encountered in the field of religion, and what course is taken as to them in representative settlements?

§ 56. How is the Sabbath of educational value to working men?

§ 57. What plan is suggested to develop newspapers that will be a mental and moral force in public education? What standard is presented as to its tone? What is the usual rule in prisons as to admitting newspapers? How is it suggested that news should be told?

§ 58. On what is it suggested we should concentrate our hopes of reform?

Subjects for Debate, Discussion, Investigation, in Women's Clubs, Teachers' Institutes, College Societies, etc.

(See other questions at close of other lectures and Ballot on Reforms in Appendix.)

1. Should women be held to a higher standard than men in moral conduct as to purity, drink, tobacco, conversation, etc.? 2. Should crimes against purity be punished as severely, at least, as crimes against property? 3. Should the "age of consent" for the person be as high, at least, as for property? 4. Would the proposed high tax on bachelorhood be justifiable and efficient? 5. Is family affection mostly a natural or a Christian grace? 6. Is boarding for families justifiable? 7. Is cooperative housekeeping practicable? 8. Should the whipping-post be revived as a punishment for wife-beaters and others who have inflicted physical suffering? 9. Should full divorce with privilege of remarriage be granted for one cause only? 10. Is a national, constitutional marriage and divorce law desirable? 11. Ought social clubs for men only to be discouraged? 12. Is the opposition to secret societies justifiable? 13. Can the four-in-hand, religion and reform, the dance and the theater, be driven successfully together? 14. Is equal suffrage woman's right and duty? 15. Is training more influential than heredity in the molding of character? 16. Are more stringent laws needed against child labor? 17. Should married women be forbidden to work away from home? 18. Can the payment of lower wages to women than to men for like work be justified? 19. Are women to-day generally inferior to men, intellectually and educationally?

20. Does the Boys' Brigade cultivate the war spirit? 21. Should the approval of a probate court be made a necessary prerequisite to placing

children in charitable institutions? 22. Is the withholding of State funds from all towns that neglect to enforce the compulsory education law, as in New York State, a proper and efficient method of securing obedience to the law? 23. Is the kindergarten the best form of elementary education at the beginning of school life? 24. Should attendance at devotions be compulsory in schools and colleges? 25. Can American public schools consistently teach Christian morals by Bible reading or otherwise? 26. Is it just to refuse to divide the school fund with parochial schools? 27. Is it an excessive paternalism for the State or City to provide free text-books for school pupils? 28. In the poor districts of cities should free lunches be provided for school children? 29. Has Massachusetts gone beyond proper paternalism in requiring every town to furnish a high-school and industrial education to all pupils asking for either in its own schools or by payment of tuition and transportation in schools of other towns? 30. Is it proper for taxes to be used to provide college education in State universities? 31. Should college faculties turn over to civil courts students guilty of hazing? 32. Is it desirable that college professors of economics should take a leading part in the solution of economic questions which are in politics? 33. Should the current form of football be abolished? 34. Is it desirable in university settlement work to be agnostic in practice toward religion? 35. Is it for the public good to have public libraries open on Sunday? 36. Can any reading except of novels, newspapers, and magazines be made popular? 37. Is it practicable to establish clean newspapers? 38. Has Sabbath rest an adequate scientific basis?

(We commend The Lyceum League of America, 1 Beacon Street, Boston, as a helpful agency for the establishment of debating societies in preparation for good citizenship.)

Field Work.

1. Examine county or town statistics of marriages, births, and divorces for a period of years to ascertain if average age of marriage has increased, average number in family decreased, and whether divorces are proportionately greater. Causes given publicly for divorce are not real ones. Offensive causes like drunkenness are often hidden to make divorce easy. It would be of value to ascertain what percentage of a county's cases, in opinion of neighbors, is correctly stated. 2. Visit all local schools; ascertain as to observance of compulsory education law and temperance education law. 3. Secure analysis of so-called "temperance drinks" and "bitters" locally sold. 4. Tabulate local papers as to relative space given to important and unimportant news; note omissions, etc.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON: Truth is the summit of being; justice is the application of it to affairs.—*Essays, 2d Series, p.* 81.

GEORGE DANA BOARDMAN, D. D., LL. D.: Bravely obey Jesus Christ, and Utopia, ideal land of Nowhere, becomes actuality, real land of Everywhere.—*Address on The Disarmament of Nations, before Christian Arbitration and Peace Society*, 1890.

JOSIAH STRONG, D. D.: We shall have no industrial peace until political economy becomes a department of applied Christianity.—*The New Era.*

PROFESSOR JOHN R. COMMONS: Christianity is the cause of our social problems. There would be no problem at all, were it not for our Christian ideals, which abhor injustice and inequality.—*Social Reform and the Church.*

PROFESSOR GEO. D. HERRON: Not God *and* the people, which the Italian Revolution inscribed upon its banner, but God *in* the people, is the power that is overcoming the tyrannies and slaveries, the falsehoods and hypocrisies in the world.—*The New Redemption.*

HON. T. V. POWDERLY, Ex-Master Workman, Knights of Labor: If every member . . . would boycott strong drink . . . for five years and would pledge his word to study the labor question from its different standpoints, we would then have an invincible host arrayed on the side of justice.—*Quoted, Roads' Christ Enthroned in the Industrial World.*

JAMES A. FROUDE: That which notably distinguishes a high order of man from a low order of man, that which constitutes both human goodness and greatness, is not the degree of intelligence with which men pursue their own advantage, but it is disregard of personal pleasure, indulgence, gain, present or remote, because some other line of conduct is more directly right.

A. M. FAIRBAIRN, D. D.: The ethical is the strongest and most significant tendency in social and political thought. And so men are coming to see more clearly that, for moral rather than economic reasons, questions between classes are never merely class questions, and that what depresses the standard of living in any one class lowers the level and worth of life throughout the community as a whole. And this idea is so penetrating the community that we see it daily becoming more distinctly conscious that it is as responsible for safeguarding the skill which is the sole property of the artisan, and, as far as possible, securing his happiness also, as for protecting the employer in the use and enjoyment of his capital.—*Religion in History and in Modern Life, p.* 8.

HON. CARROLL D. WRIGHT
U. S. COMMISSIONER OF LABOR
BY PERMISSION OF THE ARENA
MRS HELEN CAMPBELL
AUTHOR
"WOMEN WAGE EARNERS"
ETC
MISS JANE ADDAMS
HEAD WORKER
HULL HOUSE, CHICAGO
PROF. RICHARD T. ELY.
DEAN OF SCHOOL
OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICS
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

III. FROM THE STANDPOINT[1] OF CAPITAL AND LABOR.[2]

§ 1. The message of the Church, when confronted with the problems of poverty in the past, has been, to the poor,[3] Patience; to the rich, Charity. At last, from the standpoint of Christianity, as well as from that of labor, we are learning to write above both words,

JUSTICE.[4]

Here is a point of general agreement, such as should be found as common ground to start upon together in every controversy. That the present industrial system, which in its maturity is not a competitive system but a monopolistic system,[5] works great injustice to the poor and to the public, and that not in rare exceptions but on a large and increasing scale,[6] and should therefore be at least modified, will hardly be questioned, however widely even good men may differ as to remedies.

Plato taught that justice is moral health; injustice, disease. The industrial sickness of the body politic to-day is injustice. Only by justice can it be cured. Only the equitable is practicable.

Labor appeals for justice, not for pity. Many preachers ask better wages for labor from compassion, on the basis of that misquotation of Henry George, "The rich are growing richer and the poor are growing poorer."[7] Labor's real claim is that, of the great increase of wealth caused by modern machinery, labor has not had its fair share.[8] "The grievance point of view," says the organ of the American Railway Union, "is this: Labor is habitually wronged by the employer and not sufficiently

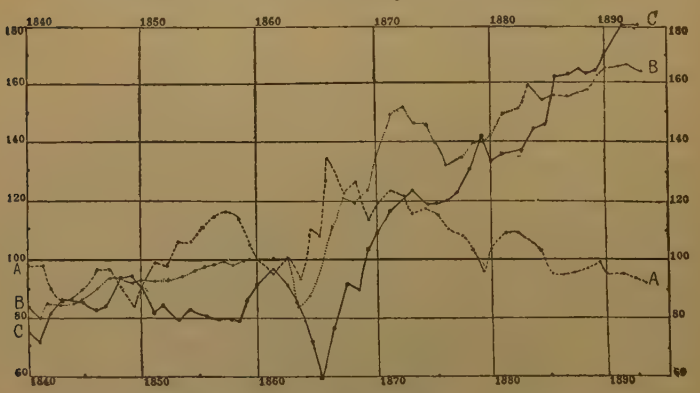
protected by the state." Workmen will not be silenced by statistics that show they are paid more than formerly,[9] but, having learned the meaning of justice from Christianity,[10] they will be content only when it is proved that they are getting their fair share of the modern comforts and luxuries they have helped to create.

§ 2. The main contention between labor and capital was most exactly presented in the strike of 1892 at Homestead, four miles from my Pittsburg home at that time. The world's most famous, if not most wealthy manufacturer proposed a slight reduction in the wages of his best paid mechanics, the best paid in the world. They struck, not, as too hasty preachers and politicians and agitators declared, in resistance to "starvation wages," but in defense of the claim that labor already received less than its just share of the joint product of capital and labor, and, as a matter of principle, should not submit to further reductions. These

Homestead Strike.

DIAGRAM SHOWING RELATIVE PRICES, WAGES, AND PURCHASING POWER FROM 1840 TO 1892.

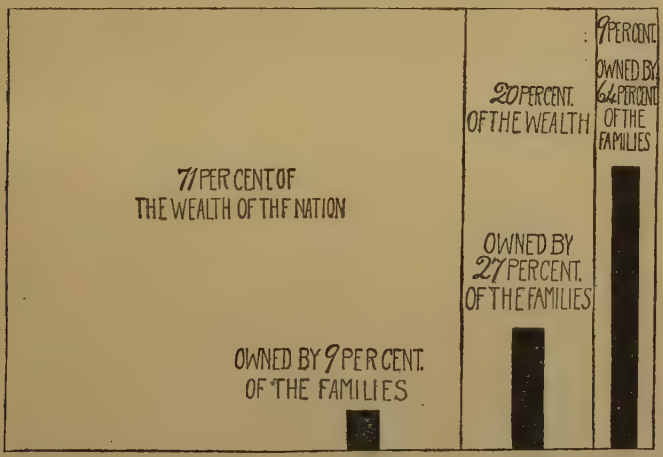
(From *The Voice*, March 7, 1895. Prepared by George B. Waldron, of *The Voice* editorial staff.)



A, Relative prices in gold; B, relative wages in gold; C, relative purchasing power of ten hours' labor.

The average ten-hour wages will command to-day, or would in 1892, about three times as much in the comforts and necessaries of life (barring rent) as in 1865, and nearly two and one-half times as much as in 1840.

workmen were in not more danger of being pauperized than our Revolutionary fathers would have been if they had paid the small tax on tea. The contest in each case was for rights, not for bread. The reduction affected only 321 men, of whom the highest grade were receiving $271 per month, which was cut down to $230, being at the rate of $2760 per year; while the lowest grade were to receive $45 per month after the reduction, which is more than some ministerial salaries.[11] The strike on the part of the other workmen was a "sympathetic strike." All agreed that even the thousand a year workmen must not be cut down to swell their master's million a year.



Voice Chart, prepared by George B. Waldron, based on an article, "The Concentration of Wealth," by Geo. K. Holmes, U. S. Census Expert, in the *Political Science Quarterly*, December, 1893.

AVERAGE WEALTH OF PEOPLE OF U. S.

1860, $514.
1870, $780.
1880, $870.
1890, $1000.

Total wealth 1890, $62,610,000,000.

—*U. S. Census Bulletin.*

PROPORTION OF PRODUCT RECEIVED BY LABOR IN U. S.

1850, 23 per ct.
1860, 21.2 "
1870, 19 "
1880, 17.8 { (Great Britain 31.50, about.) (Continental Europe, 30.)

1850 to 1880 the average product increased 83 per cent.; average wages, 43 per cent.

—*Mulhall's History of Prices.*

While labor probably gets higher wages in the United States than in Europe, as Mr. Carnegie claims, the disproportion between labor's share and capital's share is here greater than abroad, so that European capitalists in reality make a fairer divide of the joint products.

It is unfortunate for labor's cause that its main contention, that there must be no further reductions in labor's proportion of the joint product of capital and labor, even where wages are highest, but rather increase wherever they are too low, was not fought out in that representative case in lawful agitation. If the war had been one of ballots instead of bullets, there might have been by this time, or in the near future, a victory for the contention that the paternalism of protection should be so adjusted as to include the workman's wage as well as the manufacturer's profit, either by a high tariff on imported labor as well as upon goods, or by some form of arbitration * to which corporations asking the public for the benefits conferred by charters, and receiving tariff protection also, should be required to submit in cases of such serious labor conflicts as would otherwise endanger the public peace or cause a congestion of commerce.

In other strikes also it has usually been the best paid mechanics that have demanded higher wages or resisted

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* A concise and comprehensive discussion of arbitration is contained in a pamphlet published by the Civic Federation of Chicago, entitled *Congress of Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration*, which contains the views of most of the specialists of this theme. See also in Appendix, Part Second, the Arbitration Bill passed by the National House of Representatives in 1895. A most valuable series of symposiums was published in *The Voice* during April, 1895, on the long tried and successful plan of conciliation in use among the bricklayers of New York City; a permanent court of arbitration in which employers and employees have peacefully settled all disputes for many years. Just before this book went to press a novel and a radical plan of compulsory arbitration was proposed in the *University Law Review* in these words:

"The next step, we trust, will be to discover that the existing courts of equity are adequate and ready prepared tribunals for this purpose; and a short statute would be ample which should require that the regulations and dealings of every corporation enjoying a franchise from the State or nation shall be just and fair, and that courts of equity shall have jurisdiction to enforce this rule by the ordinary proceedings."

reductions,[12] not the poorest paid laborers, who are seldom organized.

In other lands "starvation wages" are common enough, and they are found in our land in many sweating dens[13] and in numerous mines,[14] and in times of panic,* and wages generally are too low, no doubt; but no one who has noted the array of good clothes in American labor parades and picnics will be won to labor's cause, but rather repelled, by any appeal that rests upon exaggerated and exceptional pictures of its poverty. Those

* *The New York Tribune* estimated that in 1893–94 wages were reduced in the case of 4,700,000 mechanical and manufacturing workers in 355,000 establishments. The same paper in July, 1895, reported that 315,000 in 430 establishments, so far as published records showed, had received a partial restoration of wages in the return of good times up to that date. Allowing that the real number whose wages had been partially or wholly restored to the former standard was really much larger, it was nevertheless declared to bear no satisfactory proportion to the number of reductions. About the same time *The Chicago Inter-Ocean* (July 18, 1895) gave the first annual report of the Chicago Bureau of Charities, the philanthropic department of the Civic Federation, which showed that in the year beginning with the spring of 1894 one-tenth of Chicago's population had asked for charity, which, the report intimates, calls for such a searching out of causes and remedies as only a bureau of charities can make. The report continues: "It is a painful fact that the individual near the line of subsistence must pay the highest prices for all he obtains; even if he wishes to borrow money he must pay twelve to twenty times the legal rates of interest. There is too often little room for thrift in his lot, and he needs the encouragement of such philanthropic enterprises as will enable him to make the most of his time, powers, and resources." It is pertinent to quote here from *The Voice* of August 1, 1895:

"Every time a ten-dollar bill goes to the saloon instead of to the merchant the farmers and wage-earners are getting about $4 less than if the money went for furniture and carpets. There are about 100,000,000 of these ten-dollar bills that go into the saloon every year. This means that the working men and farmers are getting about $400,000,000 less than they would if the saloons were closed and the money spent in fixing up houses. This does not take into account millions more that would go to railroad men, etc."

are not intelligent friends of American labor who dress it in borrowed rags and make it a corner beggar intriguing for pity.* Its true attitude—exceptions aside—is that of the self-respecting, self-supporting citizen appealing to his fellow citizens as a jury for *justice.*[15]

§ 3. It is not capitalists but capitalism that is accused of injustice.[16] As no European nation can safely disarm until a general disarmament is agreed on, so the warring corporations and capitalists, so far as they are competitors, cannot lay down their weapons, long hours and low wages, unless by law or agitation such disarmament shall become general in the competing territory, which in most cases includes the whole country,[17] and in some the world. Not a few capitalists would like to substitute for selfish competition and combination, brotherly cooperation. The ablest attacks on the capitalistic system, including the writings of Owen and Bebel, and Marx's "Das Kapital" itself, have been made by men of wealth.[18] Most of the numerous gains of labor's cause during this century have been achieved under the leadership of such capitalists as Lord Shaftesbury, through the votes of the privileged classes, who have yielded, as Benjamin Kidd has shown in *Social Evolution*, to the pressure, not of force but of justice.[19] Even in the French Revolution, if justice had not first conquered the hearts of royalty and nobility,

Two Kinds of Capitalists.

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* The organ of the American Railway Union recently said: "Within the last generation Lazarus' plaintive cry for mercy has been changed into an imperious demand for justice. . . He who never labored gets the largest portion, while the most exhausting bodily labor cannot count with certainty upon earning the very necessaries of life. With this feeling deeply rooted, Lazarus does not thank you for the public aid which you dispense. He considers himself entitled to it. . . Public charity dries up the fountains of his gratitude. This is but a beneficence of calculation, founded in selfishness and springing from a sense of terror."

making earnest defense of their inheritance of tyranny impossible, the mob would have found force of no avail.[20]

Let materialistic advocates of labor reform, who set before working men no higher motive than physical comfort, and rely upon majority votes to win it ; who ignore their mightiest ally, God in conscience, learn from history that selfishness never waged a great crusade.[21] The victorious watchword must be, "Justice—God wills it." In the words of an Oriental proverb, "Our swords must be bathed in heaven."[22]

Selfish Motives Insufficient.

§ 4. The logical outcome of a materialistic propaganda in behalf of labor is seen in the two mayoralty campaigns of Henry George in New York City. Mr. George is a thinker and writer of great ability, but treats poverty as a greater evil than vice and the cause of it, and so fails to give due prominence to moral reforms. The first year, politicians considered his candidacy hardly more than a joke. But when it was found, to the surprise of all, that he had polled seventy thousand votes, the politicians determined to deal with his vote as a serious foe, and accordingly the next year they almost annihilated it—no doubt with various forms of bribery. This was a logical death for a movement that appealed chiefly to selfishness, and almost ignored moral motives and ends. When the politicians offered selfishness a bird in the hand, it was preferred to the promise of two in the "land." That experience drove labor leaders swiftly to the support of moralists in the agitation for ballot reform, which accordingly swept the country in a quadrennium. But selfish bids for votes in other forms than technical bribery will again draw from labor's ranks, as they grow formidable, those whose motives are wholly materialistic. Workmen can achieve even happiness for their class only as they aim at justice.

As the steamer that in crossing the Atlantic in cloudy

weather was unable in the entire voyage to get an observation of the heavens, to correct the variations of its compass, was wrecked on the coast of Nova Scotia when its captain supposed he was entering the harbor of New York, so any reform that does not look up is doomed to go down. We commend to labor leaders the advice of Emerson, "Hitch your wagon to a star."

§ 5. Justice is to be achieved in prices, in wages, and in work. I have noted that wages (and the same is true of prices) can be adjusted to perfect justice only by wide cooperation among competitors, but both can be made much less unjust than they now are through a more equitable division of the margin of profit by the individual capitalist or corporation in the increase of wages directly or by "profit-sharing," which itself increases profits by increasing good will. Instances of profit-sharing thus far have hardly more than pointed the way for this reform, since the percentages of profit allowed the workmen have been very small. It is no doubt difficult, perhaps impossible, to decide exactly what proportion of an industrial product should be distributed in wages, what part in salaries, and what part in rent and interest;[23] but it is not difficult to see that justice is outraged when, as the official Chicago Strike Report says was the case at Pullman, a corporation cuts down wages in hard times, but does not cut down its charges for house rent or its salaries for superintendence or its dividends.[24]

Just Work, Wages, Prices.

In the large and increasing field of monopoly, where prices are not determined by competition, there is no excuse for not including just wages in the cost of production.[25] The withholding of such wages in such cases will hasten the downfall of private monopoly, which is socially as unsafe as absolute monarchy.

§ 6. In discussions of workmen's wrongs, it is too much forgotten that they are overcharged in prices as well as

underpaid in wages. They are paid starvation wages for mining coal and then charged starvation prices for it. Prices, formerly crowded down by competition to a natural profit, are now crowded up by combinations to an unnatural usury. This is especially unjust when the necessities of life are involved; for instance, when a few "coal barons,' at the edge of winter, raise the price of coal by their own will, regardless of its cost ; and when the bread trust charges eight cents a pound for bread that costs it but two cents. In a small city, one earnest sermon, showing the excessive profit of its bakers on bread, led to a general reduction, but the bread trust has proved the soullessness of corporations, and especially of monopolies, by resisting the crusade of public opinion in New York City in 1894 against this injustice; so hastening the day when government shall in some way prevent unjust charges for the necessities of life at least.*

§ 7. Wage-earners should remember that justice means good work as well as good wages. One of their wisest leaders, Mazzini, urges that in place of the selfish, materialistic cry of "rights," the workmen's *duties* should receive first attention.[26] Only when the workman has himself done his duty can he reasonably ask the employer to do his. Good work first; then a just demand for good wages. The ultimate aim should not be riches, or "rights," but *right.* If it be merely a contest of selfishness, why should not the employer keep all he can ?[27] History shows that the talented and privileged minority are usually more than a match for the ignorant majority, except when the consciences of the minority are on the

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* In April, 1895, there was a sudden rise in the price of both oil and beef, which the people at once attributed to the trusts controlling those necessities. The trusts declared it was all due to "short supply," but the investigation of the U. S. Department of Agriculture in the case of beef discredited this excuse. The other needed no discrediting.

side of the majority. Duty must therefore be appealed to. And duty must first be *done.*

That organized workmen do *not* devote their full powers to their employers, as their acceptance of employment is an implied contract to do, is often stated by labor leaders and justified on the ground that the employer pays too little.[28] Such workmen have learned the Golden Rule as imperfectly as that liquor dealer whom I heard repeat it in court, "Do as you have been done by." The skimping of work is in some labor unions required by rule: for instance, a hod-carrier in Leeds must not carry more than eight bricks to the hod; in London not more than ten; in Liverpool not more than twelve. Such skimped work aggravates employers, and seems to them and many others to justify skimped wages.[29] No headway can be made on the false theory that two wrongs make one right. The wage-earner must come into court with a clean record. It was to unpaid Colossian slaves that Paul wrote, "Whatsoever ye do, do it from the soul." * The workman should give money's worth and then demand labor's worth.[30]

The workman must be loyal to conscience not only in doing proper work well, but also in refusing to do any other.[31] A few years ago some tenements fell in New York with great loss of life. It turned out that the builder had, for economy, used worthless mortar, but the workmen, who knew they were building death-traps, wickedly made no protest. They assumed that only the employer was to blame. A distinguished doctor of divinity, usually wise, writes to workmen, "It may be you are in the employ of those who require you to do dishonest work. If they do, I suppose the fault is theirs and

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* Dr. E. E. Hale tells of a hotel at Lake Mohonk where all the servants are King's Daughters and Sons—a hotel whose service is based on the Golden Rule.

not yours." In the *Union Signal* a temperance woman, who is a hop-picker, makes an equally lame excuse for supplying material for beer, namely, that she is poor and needs the money. Even church members make like excuse for doing Sunday work in disobedience to both divine and civil law. We have no reason to expect that God will revise for such cowardly employees his word, "Every man shall give account of himself to God." [32]

It is one of the just criticisms made upon labor unions that, while they seek to punish by strikes [33] and boycotts any alleged injustice done to their members, they do not even fine their members, as did the medieval gilds, for dishonest or bungling work. "Walking delegates" should look after low work as well as low wages. The gilds kept up the quality of their membership and its work by handing over to the courts members guilty of crime.[34] But the Chicago Strike Report of the National Strike Commission notes as a defect of American labor unions that they have no provisions in their rules to prevent or punish acts of lawless violence during strikes.

§ 8. No capitalistic injustice is surer to have become a horrid fossil in the better day of industrial justice than the so-called "sympathetic strike," the folly and wickedness and doom of which were writ large in letters of fire and blood in the Chicago strike of 1894. Not that strike only, but all sympathetic strikes, all strikes of violence in republics,* have been weighed and found wanting, numbered and finished, labor leaders themselves being judges.[35] Lest wage-earners should think injustice a monopoly of their employers, they should probe the real meaning of the sympathetic strike, which, though doomed, may appear a few times more ere it becomes extinct.

Sympathetic Strikes.

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* Both strikes and secret societies originated under despotism as weapons of those who had no ballots.

The workmen in the Pullman car factories, in the Illinois town bearing that name, struck for higher wages. The National Strike Commission has adjudged that strike a just one, but it was a purely local issue. The reckless officers of the new American Railway Union * nevertheless ordered its members to strike on all railroads that would not at once discontinue Pullman cars, which they were under contract to use. As the railroads refused to make themselves liable for criminal breach of contract, the members of the Union, many of them in breach of their own contracts, not only left the service of railroads against which they had no grievance of their own, but also prevented by force the operation of the roads by other men, so making losses of millions of dollars to workmen and employers all over the land, causing deaths of men, women, and children, and of delayed live stock, and inaugurating an insurrection which had to be put down by federal troops.

The claim of labor leaders—made in all such cases—that the acts of violence were not done by strikers but by the mob, which, if true, would have little weight, since such a strike always invites a mob, is discredited by the official Strike Report, which, while declaring, "There is no evidence before the commission that the officers of the American Railway Union at any time participated in or advised intimidation, violence, or destruction of property," also says, "The strikers' experience was to be seen in the spiking and misplacing of switches, removing rails, side-tracking, derailing," etc. "The commission is of opinion that offenses of this character, as well as consider-

* Mr. Eugene V. Debs, the president, is reported to have declared, since the failure of the strike, in a great meeting at Chicago, that workmen can gain nothing by strikes, but should anchor their hopes to the ballot-box. In view of this declaration we should be glad to omit criticism of the strike, were it not manifestly needed to save other labor leaders from imitating the acknowledged folly of his course.

able threatening and intimidation of those taking strikers' places, were committed or instigated by strikers."

All for what? To compel innocent parties, by assault and battery, to take the part of Pullman strikers in a purely local quarrel, of which they knew too little to pass a just judgment. The so-called "sympathetic strike," of which this is a fair sample, is accordingly a most effective sympathy-killer. A quarrels with B, and B seeks to enlist C, D, E, F, to the end of the list in his behalf by robbing some of them and murdering others.

In this wonderful century of interlocking industries one reckless creature can do unprecedented harm, as was strikingly illustrated by the case of the Baltimore rat that carried one thousand horse power of damage through his body as he leaped from a positive to a negative electric knob—illustrated again by the Debs rebellion. Fortunately the strike order of the chief of the Knights of Labor proved a non-conductor. There is one further fact to be added to our Baltimore illustration that will need little application: namely, that meddling with the connections killed the rat. The labor leaders that attempt sympathetic strikes, only to deprive their followers of positions, will one by one join Martin Irons in "innocuous desuetude."

§ 9. It is too much overlooked that the main purpose of the Chicago strike was to form suddenly a national labor trust. Not railway employees only, but all labor unions were to be united in a resistless monopoly of labor, and then it would have appeared that the Pullman episode was only a pretense, such as nations find when bent on conquest, for the inauguration of the long-expected industrial revolution. "The time has come" said Socialist labor leaders in significant interviews, East and West; in manifest reference to the books and speeches of those who had urged workmen to unite in a revolution and dictate terms to the nation.

Proposed Labor Trust.

When the evil of trusts is seen more clearly than ever before in that they have annexed to their service the Cabinet and Congress, we should subdue or destroy the trusts that exist rather than allow to be added to their number a labor trust, larger and more dangerous than any other. The Knights of Labor, with many excellent ideals in their original platform,[36] adopted a dangerous and un-American principle when they sought, fortunately in vain, to unite all labor unions in one secret order and so "corner" the labor market. The Federation of Labor, now the most influential labor organization in the United States, made another unsuccessful attempt at a like monopoly. These attempts to unite labor by persuasion having failed, the head of the American Railway Union, feeling the stirrings of Napoleonic strategy, thought to accomplish the desired union suddenly by more brilliant tactics.

No one who knows human nature and history, if unprejudiced, can doubt that a labor union large enough to control wages would abuse that power to make them too high as surely as British lords, when that employing class ruled, made them too low.

But workmen have just ground of complaint that the only trust against which the anti-trust laws are enforced is the proposed labor trust. The agents of other lawless trusts are sent to Congress when they ought rather to be with Debs in jail.*

Such a labor trust is not to be feared, however, for only a small minority—one-twentieth or so—of the breadwinners of the country are connected with labor

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* At the Oberlin Sociological Institute, in June, 1895, Dr. Washington Gladden and Hon. Carroll D. Wright concurred with the author in the statement that neither the Interstate Commerce law nor the Anti-trust law had had any enforcement worth mentioning except against labor unions, to which they were not intended to apply.

unions,* which had in all, in 1894, about one million members.[37]

Labor unions lose much in quality and quantity of membership by holding their meetings on the Sabbath. The Methodist and Baptist Churches contain more wage-earners than all the unions. The term "working man" is commonly used in much too restricted a sense, in leaving out of view not only brain-workers but also that large majority of wage-earners who are not unionists but independents. We believe it would be better for the latter to unite in labor unions built on the pattern of the best of those of England, which in labor organization and labor legislation alike leads the world.[38]

§ 10. That workman and employer will some day be just to each other, not universally but usually, no one can doubt who believes the promises of God; no one indeed who has noted in history how far we have been led already toward that "kingdom" of justice and brotherhood which Christ proclaimed and prepared.[39] The church member who says, "The law of Christ is all right, but it will not work in business and politics," is the worst of infidels. The song he sings so piously and thoughtlessly, "Jesus shall reign," being interpreted, means, Justice shall reign.[40]

Signs of Progress.

> "My will fulfilled shall be,
> For in daylight or in dark
> My thunderbolt has eyes to see
> His way home to the mark."
>
> EMERSON: *Boston Hymn.*

§ 11. But no sane student expects that justice will fully dominate industry in this generation or the next.[41]

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* Hon. Carroll D. Wright informed the author, on the occasion referred to in the foregoing note, that his estimate of the membership of labor unions in 1894 was 1,400,000, a little more than one-third of the four millions then employed in mechanics and manufacturing.

The catastrophists of Christ's day expected the kingdom of God to come suddenly with a sword and "sign from Heaven." Christ taught that it would rather be a growth. In labor reform the evolutionists have sent the revolutionists and the idealists to the rear. Slowly the leaders have learned that the world cannot be raised to a better life by dynamite.[42] The industrial Utopias (literally, Nowheres), which like epiphytic orchids have no roots, but live on air, are by none more severely ridiculed than by mature labor leaders, such as the authors of the *Fabian Essays*.[43] The lofty level of justice is to be attained not by a tidal wave, but as in canals —by small uplifts, lock after lock. These locks began with the century in the first of the British Factory Acts in 1802. A larger lift came at the lock of 1833, and the cause has been moving forward and upward, though too slowly, ever since. It is no longer expected that society will suspend its law of growth, and its continuity of history and custom, to accept at the hands of a riot a scheme of perfect righteousness. The Fabian British policy is seen to be swifter than the French. Haste is slow. The French revolution of blood did not so rapidly advance the cause of the people there (while hindering it elsewhere) as the slower but surer British evolution. The tortoise of argument outruns the hare of insurrection. J. N. Corbin, District Secretary of the Knights of Labor in Denver, in refusing to go out at the command of Master Workman Sovereign, during the Chicago strike, said: "Labor advances by evolutionary, not by revolutionary, moves. The true leader of labor now is the one who seeks to keep reason enthroned, who tries to keep the masses from striking."[44]

Evolution, not Revolution.

§ 12. Profoundly impressed by physical evolution, labor leaders now expect to achieve justice only by instalments, and do not anticipate its complete dominance in our day. Therefore, while aiming

Patience with Aspiration.

at justice, our poor must hold fast to patience and our rich to charity.

Workmen rightly resent the injunction of patience when it comes from a pulpit or palace that is doing nothing to achieve justice for them; or when the injunction to patience is based on the assumption that present injustice can never be cured and so must be forever endured.[45]

But workmen should hold fast to the watchword, "Patience with Aspiration." In the words of Mr. Henry Holt:* "What is really advocated is the guiding of discontent away from miasmatic pools of worry, into the power-giving streams of action."

In the last century workmen were more patient than they had any business to be. They slept in huts that were hardly more than kennels, on literal "*ground* floors," with rushes for carpet and bed, and a log of wood for a pillow, blockheads themselves, without education or aspiration. There is a contentment that is not better than wealth but worse than poverty, and the cause of it. They were so content, not knowing enough to ache when they were hurt; to protest when they were wronged.[46] Labor's present unrest is better than such content. As a mother whose child has been lying comatose, more dead than alive, rejoices to see him revive, although he straightway gets into mischief, so we should rejoice that labor has ceased to be content with injustice, even though its righteous impatience sometimes goes to excess. "Labor troubles" are "growing pains."

But now when labor's appeal is receiving attention, and labor reform is hopefully, though too slowly, progressing, progress should promote patience.[47]

§ 13. Impatience is likely to hinder more than help.

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*See a valuable series of articles on "The Social Discontent," in *The Forum*, during first third of 1895.

Labor leaders are generally admitting, at last, that violent strikes have put back the cause of labor by alienating the confidence and sympathy and respect of the great public, without which nothing can be gained. Riots can no more hasten labor's day in a republic than dynamite can hasten the dawn. Whenever a labor conflict has become a civil war it has straightway become a "lost cause." The use of bullets by those who had a majority of the ballots is now seen to have been both a blunder and a crime.[48]

Manufactured Discontent.

A blunder at least is the culture by certain labor leaders of an artificial discontent, which frowns on every instalment of justice as if it were a substitute for it, demanding all or nothing.[49] A socialist, who had been criticising Henry George, added: "There is one good thing he has done. He has stirred up a good bit of discontent." Socialists in Germany were alarmed at the contentment which followed the insurance by the government of twenty millions of servants for old age, as if improvement were not a better incitement to progress than misery.[50] Such contentment is but encouragement to press forward to the achievement of complete justice, while chronic discontent is like lack of hope in an army, inviting defeat. Artificial discontent will not hasten but hinder the better day because it will promote disorders, and so discredit labor's cause with that great class of thoughtful Christian men who are neither capitalists nor laborers but the final arbiters between them, the jury from which the verdict must finally come.

§ 14. But patience does not mean passivity. Lawful agitation is essential to progress. There is in history, whether in nature or not, "expedited evolution," and God is manifestly back of it. In the expedited evolution of history man's will and word have also a large part. The psychical dominates the physical.[51]

Lawful Agitation.

The evolutionary analogy between social progress and physical law must not be carried too far. It was the fundamental and fatal error of the deceased political economy of Adam Smith and Ricardo that it assumed economic law to be merely "natural law," no more to be affected by human will and conscience than the movements of the planets. Such materialistic, evolutionary socialists as Karl Marx are repeating that very mistake of the earlier physiocrats, only they think that natural economic law is socialistic rather than individualistic.[52] There is a half truth in this, but it is also true that social evolution has often been expedited by the efforts of some earnest individual more than by an age of general tendencies preceding. Not the sun but Shaftesbury was the cause, under God, of the high tides of British labor reform in the earlier years of this century. Every one of us may hasten the advent of justice by appeals to the reason and conscience of our fellows.

§ 15. But when we have done our best to improve the future, chiefly for our descendants, let us not make our own present condition worse by useless impatience. Professor Ely suggests that the talk of "the submerged tenth" should make us grateful that nine-tenths are not submerged. The most that can be expected for the average man in the industrial millennium is competence, not affluence. The average annual production of the United States, if equally divided, with no reserve for repairing capital, would allow only $2.00 per day to each family of five. A better industrial system would increase production, but the increase is likely to be used mostly for public, rather than private purposes.

True Contentment.

Patience with aspiration constitutes that true contentment that is better than wealth.[53] Intelligent and self-respecting workmen, who do not define man as "a stomach with appendages," should *resent* any labor propa-

ganda that makes too much of mere physical comfort,* as if manhood were not better than money.[54] "Not things but men," the motto of the World's Fair Congresses, is a good one for both capital and labor also. The millionaire who knows nothing but the art of making money; who never opens the beautiful books he buys by the square yard to upholster his walls; who cannot talk of the beautiful pictures in his parlors without showing his ignorance; whose conscience is like the eyes of Mammoth Cave fishes, a dried up vacancy; should be pitied rather than envied[55] by the workman whose work is not his world; who goes from it at sunset to spend his evenings in the company of Longfellow and Tennyson, and Curtis and Motley, and Isaiah and John and Jesus. Such a man will tell the devil of materialism, who bids him make bread out of the stones of riot, that man doth not live by bread only.[56] He is not like the man who has nothing but riches and so is dependent on one thing, and that uncertain, for happiness.

> "Let us be like the bird, one moment lighted
> Upon a twig that swings;
> He feels it yield, but sings on unaffrighted,
> Knowing he has his wings."
>
> VICTOR HUGO: *On Faith.*

The poor may have not only the wings of faith but also those of culture in these days of cheap standard litera-

* The organ of the American Railway Union represents the spirit of many working men in the following extract: "Edward Atkinson, the Boston baked-bean statistician, for years has been engaged in finding out just how little would suffice to keep the soul of a working man or woman in their bodies. At last accounts he had it down to about ten cents a day, possibly four cents a meal." Instead of so resenting the information by which the most nutrition can be secured for the least money (see also Professor Atwater's pamphlet published by the U. S. Department of Agriculture) working men should welcome it as making way for gratification of their higher wants by the wastes prevented, and base their demand for higher wages on those higher wants.

ture and cheap transportation. In the words of *The Outlook:* "One pair of eyes, one pair of legs, one open mind, one honest heart, a few hours of leisure, a bit of country, and a dozen books supply the elements of deep and genuine culture for anyone who knows how to use them. It is not a question of privilege; it is a question of making the most of what you have." There is a crown hovering above the head of the man with the muck rake, if he would only look up.

It is not through the disgruntled, discouraged workmen who have allowed themselves to be worked up into an artificial discontent that betterments of labor are secured, but through workmen who are contented but aspiring, and so do battle hopefully for their class.

Since the passage of the first of the British Factory Acts in 1802, the oppressors of labor have been driven from breastwork to breastwork, and although the citadel of injustice is not yet taken, every stage of progress made in the siege and assault gives fresh courage for a new charge. The victory will come not through those who ever lament in idle discontent that labor is so far from the citadel, but through those who take courage by noting how far we are in advance of the last century in labor reform and so hold fast to the banner of *patience with aspiration.*

§ 16. And the rich must for a while longer hold fast to charity. There is a "new charity" and a newest. The "new charity" is that of the charity organization movement, which brings to the poor, "not alms but a friend." The newest charity, as yet mostly an ideal, is justice in work and wages, which would make other charity mostly unnecessary.[67] This newest charity is also the truest. Many an employer has caused by unjust wages or overwork[68] the poverty he has afterward patched up with charity. The "new charity" is now the subject of much earnest and intelli-

The New Charity and the Newest.

gent study, and is approaching the rank of a social science. Among its students are many of the wealthy. This is encouraging, for the rich have been too much content to master the art of production, and let distribution take care of itself,[59] after the fashion of the old political economy. But charity conferences should give larger place to the newest charity, the ideal charity, of just wages.[60] Prevention and cure should thus join hands.

Although competition, in many cases, makes complete justice in wages impossible, individual capitalists might in many cases reduce the injustice, for instance by omitting dividends in hard times rather than reduce wages. "His need is greater than mine" is a fitting watchword for business as well as for the battle-field.[61] Courts have already voiced this principle in the name of justice, and Christian capitalists can hardly lag behind with their banner of brotherhood.

In May, 1894, Receiver J. E. Barnard asked the United States Circuit Court for permission to reduce the wages of the employees of the Omaha and St. Louis railway in accordance with a schedule which he had prepared, to which the employees concerned filed a protest. Judge Woolson at Omaha rendered a decision denying the receiver's request. In this decision the judge cites with approval the doctrine laid down by Judge Caldwell that "the employees must be paid fair wages, even though no dividends may be paid," and adds: "The receiver shows that a large number of railroad men are now out of employment, so that the places could be filled for less money. The court cannot regard this as having much weight. The retention of faithful, intelligent, and capable employees is of more importance than a temporary decrease in earnings, and the court would not be justified in discharging satisfactory employees because of present ability to employ others at reduced wages, thus perhaps rendering the road liable to accidents for which the court would

be legally and morally responsible. The evidence shows that some employees are hardly able to maintain their families on the present wages. The highest and best services cannot be expected from men compelled to live in a state of pinch and want."

This is Christianity proclaimed by a court as good business policy. It makes the few surviving advocates of *laissez faire* rave, while the advocates of brotherhood in business rejoice. If this is a fair sample of government control of railroads, all just men will want more of it. The case is cited here, however, in order to suggest to capitalists how and why just wages should be maintained.

§ 17. But, for the most part, the individual capitalist, who is bound in the bundle of life and death with competitors far and near, of whom the meanest "cutthroat" cuts the pattern that all must follow in prices and so in wages and hours, can at present only mitigate the injustice done to his workmen and to the public by slight rebates in early closing and profit-sharing [62] and in charity; which last is best bestowed in social benefactions, such as libraries, museums, baths, playgrounds, benefit societies, self-supporting model tenements, which are increasingly provided for their workmen and for the public by American capitalists,[63] partly in recognition of the Bible doctrine of stewardship,[64] which has become the people's doctrine also; partly because conscience requires of these capitalists large rebates from their unjust share of the joint product of capital and labor. Workmen do well to criticize these public gifts as "conscience money" when the giver is making no effort to secure for labor the nobler charity of justice; but when it comes from friends and advocates of justice it should be applauded as an earnest of the newest charity. Professor Samuel Harris, in his book on *The Kingdom of Christ on Earth*, says nobly and truly: "Covetousness is the desire for gain for selfish ends and

Rebates from the Rich.

not for its uses in the service of man. If a man is doing business simply to make money, he is covetous."[65] Thus he shows that business and benevolence are not two but one, and that the kingdom of God antagonizes not only Satan but also selfishness, the latter with the Christian law of service.

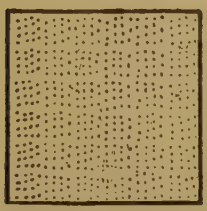
§ 18. Turning now to the ministration of charity to individuals, first consideration is due to industrious workmen who are out of work by no fault of their own.[66]

The Unemployed.

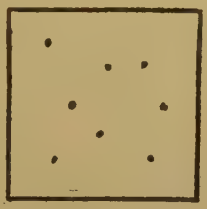
In 1893, when forty per cent. of the manufacturing establishments of the United States were closed, the problem of the unemployed swelled to very serious proportions. The unemployed in this case were entitled to more consideration from the public than common "out-of-works" because it was public action that had deprived them of their jobs—reckless financiering in Argentine and Australia, the suspension of silver coinage in India, and congressional tinkering with silver and tariff legislation in this country. No Christian scholar should have been fooled by the afterthoughts of unfair labor advocates, who treated this wholly exceptional panic as the normal fruit of the competitive system, or by the political demagogue who ascribed it to high tariff or low tariff, whereas commercial agency reports showed little recognition of the tariff issue, and that related chiefly to uncertain and unstable tariff.[67]

But great as the problem of the unemployed was in 1893–94, it was not so great as labor extremists and politicians found it to their purpose to paint it. When a Mr. C. C. Closson made a census of the unemployed in 1893 he found they would not exceed a million in number, which was astonishingly below expectations. Dr. Edward Everett Hale explained that very many of those thrown out of work had sensibly gone back to the old farm,[68] and many more, we add, had gone back to the old country Dr. Hale reminded us also that this coun-

try has an average of 256 acres for each one of its people. This seems to point the way to one partial remedy of



Belgium: 536 persons to the square mile.



America: 8 persons to the square mile.

[I. Holt Schuseling, quoted in *The Literary Digest*, March 23, 1895, from *The Strand Magazine*.]

this problem of the unemployed who crowd and imperil our cities. One way out is the way back to the farm.[69]

§ 19. Of course it is to be recognized that a very large proportion of the men thrown out of employment by any temporary suspension or contraction of business will be wanted again when trade resumes its normal course; but before the panic there were many thousands of the unemployed, who were not then needed in the cities, where they insisted on staying, that could at least have kept themselves from dependence on some of the many deserted and unopened farms, to which they were unwilling to go.[70]

Return to the Farms.

One cause, though not the only cause of the congestion of labor, is that present world-phenomenon, the mad rush to the cities.[71] In the opening pages of the Bible sin introduces us to the city. God made the country, but Cain made the town. It is commonly said by sociologists that cities originated in ancient times in the need of protection, and in modern times in the needs of production. But neither of these needs explains Cain's city, for there were as yet no wars, and no factories. It was the outgrowth of man's social instinct, always strongest in the Cainites.

The last named fact partly explains the slums. The story is worth repeating of the Irishwoman, rescued by a philanthropist from the unhealthy slums and given free rent in a tidy cottage home in the country. He soon found her back at her old place with the explanation, "Stumps isn't peoples." Early in May, 1894, when "industrial (?) armies" were marching on to Washington to show the need of work for the unemployed, and the very next morning after I had heard Henry George, in one of the halls of New York City, picture the movement as proving that multitudes of honest workmen could get no work—which, in turn, he deemed the natural result of our present industrial methods—I personally ascertained at the Immigrant's Free Employment Bureau in that city that for three weeks the Bureau had not been able to supply the demand for farm hands in New York and Pennsylvania, although the wages were unusually high. The significance of this fact may easily be exaggerated by those who wish to excuse their own injustice; but it *is* significant, nevertheless.[72]

We are told that the government owes every man a job,[73] by which is usually meant a city job. But surely it is not the duty of government to encourage the ominous desertion of the country for the cities by the premium of *city* employment. If it is remembered that the city is preferred to the farm chiefly because of the amusements of the city, it will appear that special government appropriations to provide support in the city for men who could live without government aid on the farm are perilously like Rome's fatal "bread and games." With thousands of deserted farms waiting to supply a competence at least to any who will rent and work them,[74] the government is not called upon to put a premium upon the unwholesome and perilous massing of the Cainites in cities at the very time when the better citizens are more and more moving to the suburbs. Let government rather

make special inducements for the worthy poor to return to the deserted farms,[76] and provide employment on three sets of farms, if it comes to be necessary: on one kind in or near the cities, for the honest workmen temporarily out of work; * on another, that need not be suburban, for adult incapables; on another for wilful paupers—these two last, of course, being tenanted by compulsory commitment.

The greatest, because most practical, of Christian sociologists, General William Booth of the Salvation Army,[76] has made a way of escape from the loneliness of farm life, which was the most repellent and expellent objection to it, by the successful establishment of "farm colonies," [77] a form of cooperation [78] which ought to be attractive to honest workmen who have grown weary of wolf-fighting in city tenements. Such farm colonies have been established by the state in Germany, Holland, and New Zealand; family life being preserved in the case of Holland, with mental and manual education for the children.[79]

Some of our college professors, preachers, and editors are teaching that rights to life and liberty include *the right to work*,[80] which is perhaps true, but is not yet a pertinent reason why American governments should provide work, since "means of production," in the shape of farms rentable on shares that will at least yield an honest living to the tenant, are yet abundantly available.[81]

§ 20. But pending permanent provision for the unemployed they must often be assisted by the charitable, who

* The happy thought of Mayor Pingree of Detroit, that vacant city lots might be utilized as gardens for the unemployed, has started a movement of great possibilities. Its success in Detroit in 1894 has prompted New York, Cincinnati, St Louis, and other cities to try it in 1895. One-third of an acre, it is said, will supply a family with potatoes for the year, and other vegetables for their season. It is to be hoped that the experiment will also give to many a taste for farming.

should study to conserve this self-respect by giving them work rather than alms, so far as possible.

Scientific Charity of 1893-1894.

During the winter of 1893–94 our privileged classes took up the problem of the unemployed with devotion of brain as well as heart, and produced results which showed that the science of charity has made great progress.[82] Merchants and ministers in every large city sat down together to solve the following problems: "(1) To find some form of work that would give employment to the greatest number of people, and, by means of the wages thus earned, would enable them and their families to keep alive through the winter. (2) To prevent self-respecting working men from being compelled to accept alms, whether in the form of money, food, or clothes. (3) To find a form of work at which men of every trade could be employed, and in which the expenses of management should be relatively small, so that the bulk of the money might go to the men as wages. (4) To find work the results or product of which would not interfere with a market already overstocked. (5) So to manage and conduct the work that only those who needed it the most should receive it, and that no one should be attracted to it from other cities. (6) To secure the financial support necessary to carry on such an undertaking."

Some American cities supported the unemployed by a draft of charity upon the taxpayers, undertaking, to this end, municipal works, such as new city buildings and park improvements.[83] Many educated citizens lost their heads in their hearts and approved the claim, just disproved, that government owes every man a city job. It was plausibly argued that it was better to support the unemployed with work than without it. But this was not the alternative. Few of the self-respecting poor would have gone "on the town." Some would have gone back to the old farm, others to the old country, and voluntary charity would have provided for the remainder;

as in Pittsburg, where many thousands of dollars were raised by private subscription and used to pay workmen a dollar a day for improvements in the parks, which the taxpayers, as such, were not yet ready to make.

Money thus bestowed to supply necessities to workmen and their families should be safeguarded against being diverted to the saloons. A pastor in Pittsburg, who lived in sight of a saloon on the opposite side of the way, told me that every night the workmen who had been employed by private benevolence in work on the parks, on their return trip filed into that saloon by the score to spend a part at least of the dollar they had just received in what would embitter and degrade the homes for whose benefit the money had been provided. Such cases would seem to afford a good opportunity for introducing the "labor check" of the industrial millennium, which should be exchangeable, in these charitable uses of it, only for food and fire and clothing.

Ohio has set a good example in its recent law establishing free employment bureaus in the chief cities,[84] after the French pattern, although the antagonism of non-union by union labor has confined the work of the bureaus mostly to unskilled labor and domestic service.

Another exemplary charity is the pawn-shop of the Charity Organization Society of New York City, which is called by the less odorous name of "Loan Bureau," sometimes also, "The Poor Man's Bank." I saw the Bureau, when first opened, doing a brisk business with people not ragged, but respectable, who feel more keenly than any others financial stringency, and are glad to pawn their luxuries to secure necessities in the assurance that, at the moderate rate of interest charged, they can redeem their pledges when good times return.[85]

§ 21. But while we administer such temporary relief, we should earnestly seek a permanent solution of this problem of the unemployed. The radical difficulty is

not overproduction, as superficial appearances suggest, but underconsumption.[86] Two incidents will suggest the chief cause and also one of the cures of this underconsumption. One night when I was in the Midnight Mission of New York City, the missionary pointed out, during the meeting, a well-dressed man of whom he wished to tell me a story afterward. This man, dressed in rags, had been converted in the meeting a few weeks before. When the new life had enabled him to earn a new suit, he determined to ascertain how much his last suit in the devil's service would bring. On going the rounds of the second-hand stores he was able to get only seven cents for it. "That," said he at the next meeting, "is what the devil's service brings you to—*seven-cent suits.*" It makes a very considerable difference to the clothing industry whether men wear "seven-cent suits," or better ones; a difference which should lead political economists to give larger attention to the economic waste of the drinking usages and other vices of our times.[87]

Overproduction or Underconsumption?

Among many interesting incidents connected with the closing of the saloons in Kittanning, Pa., a leading merchant tells the following:

A woman came into his store very timidly. She was evidently unaccustomed to trading.

"What can I do for you?" inquired the merchant.

"I want a pair of shoes for a little girl."

"What number?"

"She is twelve years old."

"But what number does she wear?"

"I do not know."

"But what number did you buy when you bought the last pair for her?"

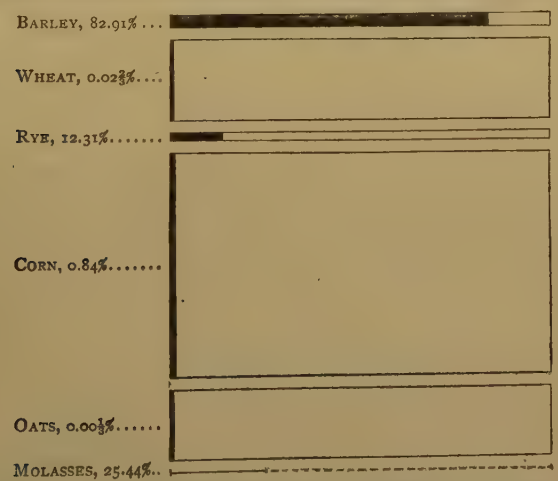
"She never had a pair in her life. You see, sir, her father used to drink when we had saloons; but now that they are closed he doesn't drink any more, and this

morning he said to me, 'Mother, I want you to go up town to-day and get sissy a pair of shoes, for she never had a pair in her life.' I thought, sir, if I told you how old she was, you would know just what size to give me."

The wives and children of drunkards, gamblers, libertines, and underpaid workers "consume," in the economic sense, too few clothes, too little food, reading, music, and art. If the billion dollars a year worse than wasted in the purchase of alcoholic beverages, and the vast sums spent on gambling and lust, should be diverted by law and gospel to the purchase of necessities and luxuries for impoverished homes, as it surely will some day, every factory in the land would need to work night and day,

PROPORTION OF FARM PRODUCTS USED FOR LIQUORS.

New York *Voice* (February 7, 1895) Chart prepared by George B. Waldron, based on Reports of Departments of Agriculture and Internal Revenue for 1893–94.



Each diagram as a whole represents the entire crop; the black the proportion used for manufacturing liquors.

Only three per cent. of more than one billion dollars' worth of the farm products of 1894 used by the brewers and distillers, but the American people spent a billion dollars for the liquor produced.—*The Voice*, February 7, 1895.

(See also table making a yet more unfavorable showing as to the farmer's relation to the liquor traffic, in *The Voice* of April 23, 1893. For statistics of cost of drink and revenue from it, see *The Voice* of April 4, 1895.)

with two or three shifts of workmen, to supply the demand for necessities and luxuries; and the corner stores vacated by the suppression of saloons would not suffice for the one-fifth additional traffic thus added to legitimate commerce. As for the half-million liquor sellers thrown out of work, the same capital in more legitimate industries would employ not only that half million but also the million workmen that are out of employment in panic years.[88]

§ 22. But, neither the charities of the rich nor the patience, under injustice, of the poor should be considered by Christians as finalities. They are but makeshifts, which should not check for a moment our campaign in behalf of justice in industry, which will leave small room for charity. And if the threatened break in the overstrained patience of the poor[89] is to be prevented, rich and poor must grasp hands over the bloody chasm of industrial war in a mutual effort to reduce, at least, and that speedily, the industrial injustice that now prevails.*

Labor Conferences.

* The Council of Conciliation and Mediation, of which Bishop Potter of New York is chairman, have given a fresh impulse to the formation and use of such boards by their successful settlement of the electrical workers' strike in New York in April, 1895. But yet more encouraging is the success of the New York Masons' Association and the bricklayers' unions. The committee is composed of equal numbers of representatives of the master builders and of the eight bricklayers' unions; it meets once a week to hear statements of grievances and to settle disputes between the master masons and their men. There is a provision that in case of non-agreement an umpire shall be chosen, but in the ten years of the committee's existence it has never been found necessary to choose an umpire. During these ten years no strike or lockout has occurred between the members of the organizations represented on this joint committee. Each year an agreement as to wages, hours, and "other matters of mutual interest" is made by the committee, and to this annual agreement the organizations scrupulously adhere. The unions of the laborers on the one hand and the unions of the employers on the other are fully recognized; the members of the committee do not act as

Conference is the word, not conflict. Progress waits on peace. The problem is deep, and therefore the debate must be long. It is not a simple question of right and wrong, like slavery and gambling and impurity and intemperance, in all of which an unprejudiced child can at once see the clear-cut parting of the ways. There is no exact number of hours and of dollars that is always and everywhere the right measure of a day's work and wages respectively. Even working men have not yet generally agreed on a reform platform. Only quacks will assume that such an issue can be settled offhand by a workingman extemporizing at the close of his work from a drygoods box to a crowd of fellow workmen. There must be long and careful consideration, lest in correcting one injustice a worse one should be substituted. What riotous working men need now to be told in stentorian voice, with a musket for a gavel, whenever necessary, is that this great debate cannot proceed until the meeting comes to order. Dynamite only delays debate and so deliverance.

The debate is delayed not only by riots, but also by rant. What is needed is not declamation, but deliberation. The American people are not to be stampeded into a new industrial order, like swarming bees, by mere shouting and throwing dust. As rioters divert public attention from the righteousness of their claim by the lawlessness of their method of defending it, so the advocates of labor,

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individuals, but as representatives of their respective organizations. The gain to the men in wages under the agreements made by the joint committee has been distinct. In 1885 they received forty-two cents an hour, with a working day of nine hours; they now get fifty cents an hour, and the day is eight hours. This arbitration council, described by Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell in *The Voice* of April 11, 1895, called out many expressions of approval, with further plans of arbitration, published in the two subsequent issues of that journal—all since collected in a leaflet, *How to Avoid Strikes*, sold at 3 cents.

in many cases, delay the final solution of the labor problem by hiding the real issue under furious vociferation. Capitalists, having shown the fallacies in their exaggerations, imagine they have routed labor reform itself. If the public is ever allowed to get at the main question it will be settled right.

§ 23. Especially does it tend to hide the real issue when labor reformers attribute both the pauperism and vice we see about us chiefly or wholly to our industrial system. It is manifest exaggeration to make low wages chiefly responsible for low morals, and high wages the highway to virtue.[90] Such as do so forget that in the case of Ananias we have proof that even the Christian communism they so often quote did not cure lying. And the communistic Spartans, with only iron money, became a proverb of covetousness. It is pertinent to add further, apropos of the labor leaders' idea that want creates wickedness, that a large majority of criminals were having regular employment when arrested.

Poverty as a Cause of Vice.

The novel doctrines of those who make the labor problem the center of the sociological system, and discuss moral reforms from that point of view, should not be wholly rejected because not wholly true. Labor extremists declare, "Poverty is the cause of drink,"* and temperance men of an equally narrow type reply, "Nay, but drink is the cause of poverty." Each has a part of the truth, a half hinge from the door that swings one way into the saloon and the other way into the poorhouse, with persons passing both ways.

In the Philadelphia Free Breakfast for the poor, on inquiry, seventy-five per cent. acknowledged drink to be

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* During the "hard times," in the year ending June 30, 1894, the American people consumed 16.82 gallons per capita, as against 18.04 for the previous more prosperous year.

ANALYSIS OF THE CAUSES OF POVERTY.

From Warner's "American Charities."

SUBJECTIVE.

- Characteristics.
  1. Undervitalization and indolence.
  2. Lubricity.
  3. Specific diseases.
  4. Lack of judgment.
  5. Unhealthy appetites.
- Habits producing and produced by the above.
  1. Shiftlessness.
  2. Self-abuse and sexual excess.
  3. Abuse of stimulants and narcotics.
  4. Unhealthy diet.
  5. Disregard for family ties.

OBJECTIVE.

1. Inadequate natural resources.
2. Bad climatic conditions.
3. Defective sanitation, etc.
4. Evil associations and surroundings.
5. Defective legislation and defective judicial and punitive machinery.
6. Misdirected or inadequate education.
7. Bad industrial conditions.
   - *a.* Variations in value of money.
   - *b.* Changes in trade.
   - *c.* Excessive or ill-managed taxation.
   - *d.* Emergencies unprovided for.
   - *e.* Undue power of class over class.
   - *f.* Immobility of labor.
8. Unwise philanthropy.

(General William Booth, of the Salvation Army, says that many of the dependent have been "the football of all the causes in the list.")

the cause of their dependence.[91] General Booth, of the Salvation Army, says: "Intemperance is the most prolific of all the causes of poverty."[92] Charles Loring Brace, after twenty years' work among "The Dangerous Classes of New York," said in his book of that title: "Probably two-thirds of the crimes of every city (and a very large portion of its poverty) come from over-indulgence of this appetite."[93] These two witnesses could not be surpassed as experts on this subject, and there is a great mass of like testimony from persons of like experience.* For instance, John Burns, the British labor leader, with 140 other labor leaders, recently signed a manifesto which declared: "The present licensing system is a chief cause of the present time poverty, debasement, and weakness of the poor." The tables of the Charity Organization Societies of the United States recognize intemperance as a cause of poverty in only 28.1 per cent. of the cases on their relief lists.[94] These cases are mostly from the better class of dependents, but in view of the seeming conflict of this conclusion with those preceding, there is need of further inductive studies as to the causes of the drink habit.[95] It would be pertinent to inquire not only how many of the persons charitably assisted have used liquors to the extent of intoxication, but also how many have used them habitually; since almost any tippler would have

* In an address by Professor J. J. McCook, the highest authority on tramps (*The Voice*, June 27, 1895), we find this testimony: "Eight hundred and twenty-five out of 1314 tramps questioned by me statistically several years ago admitted they were intemperate; that is, 62.8 per cent., or nearly two-thirds. Since more than half of them had trades, 57.4 per cent.; since 83.5 per cent., over four-fifths, admitted their health was good; and since 90.06 per cent., over nine-tenths, could read and write, and since the year when the inquiry was made was the high-water mark of our business boom, the conclusion seems a fair one that drink had something to do with their vagabondage."

spent in drink as much as he received afterward from charity. Dr. Edward Everett Hale, whose position as the founder of the Ten Times One Club,[96] and editor of *Lend a Hand*, puts his philanthropy beyond question, published a statement repeatedly, a few years since, that his Church could furnish charitable support to all the needy families of Boston whose poverty had not been caused by drink. In a card just received he confirms the accuracy of this statement and gives no hint of any change of opinion, although we assume that the statement was not made in a year of exceptional commercial panic.[97]

We do not anticipate that the novices in temperance discussions will be found to be nearer the truth than those who have long been working with and for the victims of intemperance, but we do anticipate that it will be found that besides the drunkard's personal guilt, industrial abuses need to be taken into account in devising complete remedies. The pledge and prayer and prohibition should certainly be supplemented by tenement-house reform, by cooking-schools for the wives and daughters of the poor, and by coffee-houses for the fathers and sons.

The judicial student will not accept *ex parte* statements that pauperism is due wholly to low wages, or to shiftlessness,[98] or to careless charity, but will seek to find how much of it is due to industrial changes, such as new machinery that often causes temporary suffering to those whose trade is rendered valueless, for which no one is at fault ;[99] and how much to industrial abuses that could and should be remedied, such as unrestricted immigration and political tinkering with business for partisan ends.

Those labor reformers who say that women sell themselves chiefly because of starvation wages have given no proof of their assertion. Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of the United States Department of Labor, has ascertained by statistical investigation, that such falls

occur more frequently than among factory girls among domestic servants in homes and hotels, where there is surely no danger of starvation. We are inclined to think that further inductive studies would show that natural depravity and parental neglect and the perilous silence on this subject of teachers has more to do with the beginning of social vice than poverty, but that is not a sufficient reason why those who insist that the blame of the fall partly belongs to the woman should not impartially seek to find to what extent it belongs, in some cases, to the unjust employer. The blame lies, in many instances, upon parents, because they have not provided the daughter with such training as will make her capable of earning a living, if necessary; for lack of which she is often tempted if not to a life of shame to a loveless marriage for support, which is only a shade better, and often leads to the other evil by way of desertion or divorce.

Prejudices of Christian Scholars.

§ 24. But while the exaggerations and lawlessness of one class of working men delay the favorable consideration of labor reform by the general public, Christian scholars ought to be able, in spite of these fungoid growths, to get at the heart of the subject and give it an unbiased study. Benjamin Kidd, in his great book, has warned us that in nearly all reform movements the university men in England at first opposed what at last all approved. Even the Church has sometimes been unfriendly or indifferent to a new reform which it was afterward constrained to welcome as its own child. Let us beware of repeating this history of conservative prejudice and so increasing the prejudice with which very many wage-earners, not wholly without cause, regard the Church.[100] The bishops in the British House of Lords in 1894 voted solidly with the majority of the temporal peers against the Employers' Liability Bill, a reasonable measure previously passed by the House of Commons. Though that

vote by no means represented the Christian churches of Great Britain and the United States, much less Christianity, we cannot altogether blame workmen for regarding it as representative of both until the churches more positively and actively show that they are animated by a nobler spirit.[101]

§ 25. But labor reformers are too hastily condemning the Church for not at once solving their complicated problem. If some Christians are negligent others are earnestly seeking a remedy; and those critics who have not even a remedy to suggest should not be too much in haste to condemn the Church for being as much at a loss as themselves what to do. On the other hand, let us not be impatient of censure of the Church, which surely has not done its full duty in this matter, especially when it comes from those of undoubted Christian spirit because of their high ideals for the Church. Let the Church at least thank God that Christianity has so leavened society that "Might makes right" is no longer accepted as a final law in business; that Christ is seen to be the toiler's champion, even though His Church is partly misunderstood and partly misrepresentative of Him. Let the churches, as yet uncertain, like nearly everybody else, what should be done, organize a social reform federation or at least appoint a union committee in each city, in each State, in each nation, who shall hold labor conferences, sociological congresses, gather reliable statistics, and recommend practical applications of the law of Christ in legislation and otherwise, such as may be clearly seen to be required.

Criticisms of the Church.

§ 26. Meantime labor sermons are hardly in order, except as they deal with settled principles rather than debatable details. Not all social problems have yet reached the stage for preaching, that is, for proclamation, as settled truths.

Labor Problems in the Conference Stage.

The labor problem and some others are rather in the conference stage.

Labor conferences, in which labor and capital can meet face to face, are the need of the hour.[102] The Labor Conference with which Emperor William II. of Germany began his reign, in which thirteen governments united, should be copied by all Christian states;[103] and the Christian conference between capitalists and workmen which Dr. Washington Gladden, of Columbus, held in his church should be copied by all churches.*

Little is to be expected from a purely class movement, selfishly and separately seeking its own benefit, whether it be a movement of organized capital or of organized labor. Every gain in labor reform has been made by the aid of the nobler part of the privileged classes. One-sided discussions of the relative rights and duties of capital and labor only delay the cooperation of those two natural allies, which can do little separately toward either production or peace. It was an omen of good that in a Labor Conciliation Conference held in Chicago in the autumn of 1894, some time after the great strike, labor leaders present seemed to be unanimous in the feeling that the era of great railway strikes had passed, and that arbitration and conciliation were soon to prevail. The Brooklyn strike of 1895 has damaged that prophecy, but it is not without hopeful significance.[104]

Rev. Dr. Gladden brought capitalists and workmen face to face in his church, and invited both sides to express their views freely but courteously. The very interesting remarks thus called out, published in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*[105] and also in a document issued separately, is one of the most valuable contributions

* This conference and another at Toledo were held by request of the Ohio State Association of Congregational Churches, and the result published under the title *The Social and Industrial Situation.*

to the labor controversy. Capitalists and workmen went away from that conference with better opinions of each other, and especially with better understanding of each other's difficulties, and so with more patience for the problem before them. Workmen saw that in many cases the individual capitalist, although desirous to do justice, believed that he could not materially shorten the hours of work [106] or increase the wages, even in his own establishment, because less honorable competitors in his own town or elsewhere in his world-wide neighborhood would in that case drive him out of business, and so his workmen out of work. On the other hand the capitalists saw that workmen were not all saloonists and socialists and idle dreamers about impossible millenniums. They found that some of the workmen had read more widely and thought more deeply on the problems of production and distribution than they had allowed themselves time to do.[107]

It is not to the credit of the Church that the Gladden conference stands almost, if not quite alone; which is the more surprising in that Hon. T. V. Powderly, one of most conservative of labor leaders, has publicly invited the churches to undertake such conferences. The Congregationalists and Episcopalians have taken up the labor problem more generally than any other denominations, both in Great Britain and in the United States, discussing the problem frequently at their conferences and establishing professorships of Christian sociology, social settlements, and institutional churches. The writer has originated a Forum of Reforms for the Chautauquas, which is designed for free conference on labor and kindred problems, to occupy an hour each day, or a separate week. It is suggestive of the need of such conferences that the remark of a labor leader at my Long Beach Forum of Reforms, "There are just as many kind hearts in Fifth Avenue as anywhere else," was considered by

the *New York Herald* the one sentence worth reporting from that session of the Forum. The original Chautauqua has given the labor problem a large place in its People's University under such teachers as Professor Richard T. Ely, Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Professor J. R. Commons, and Dr. Wm. R. Tolman; and Bishop Vincent himself undertook, in 1894, the supervision of a series of sociological studies for Sabbath-school teachers.[108]

Nothing, it would seem, would so check the wasteful and disastrous labor conflicts, and hasten the dominance of justice in industry, as the holding of many labor conferences in Christian nations under civil auspices, and in cities under the auspices of the united churches. They are needed to clear the murky air of misunderstandings and misstatements and exaggerations, and get at the real evils and the practicable remedies.

"Whoever fights, whoever falls,
Justice conquers evermore,
Justice after as before,—
And he who battles on her side,
God, though he were ten times slain,
Crowns him victor glorified,
Victor over death and pain."

EMERSON: *Voluntaries.*

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

§ 1. What has been the message of the Church to rich and poor as to poverty? What new watchword is suggested? On what are all parties to the labor controversy generally agreed? What was Plato's teaching as to justice? What three divisions of the wealth of the nation are given? Is the average wealth increasing or decreasing? Is the average proportion of the produce received by labor increasing or decreasing? How does this proportion compare with the division in Europe? What false plea is often made in behalf of labor? Has the purchasing power of average wages decreased since 1840? What is labor's main contention?

§ 2. Where was this main contention most exactly presented? How was this contention confused and defeated? If the contention were pressed in politics what might be expected in legislation? What grade of workmen most frequently strike? Where are "starvation wages" really found? Is the average workman abjectly poor?

§ 3. What distinction is made between capitalism and capitalists? What capitalists have been labor leaders and labor advocates? Have the concessions to labor made by the privileged classes been achieved chiefly through force and fear? What watchwords for the labor crusade are suggested?

§ 4. What failure of a materialistic labor movement is cited? What political reform was thus promoted? What further safeguard against the bribery of labor voters is needed?

§ 5. In what three departments of industry is justice to be achieved? How can prices and wages be made less unjust? What instance of reducing wages only in hard times is given? In what field is full justice in wages possible?

§ 6. How are the poor wronged in prices?

§ 7. Have poor wages ever been held to justify poor work? What is the right and wise ground for workmen and their unions to take on this matter? What ground has been, and what ground should be, taken as to doing dishonest work on an employer's order? What were the customs of medieval gilds as to skimped and dishonest work? What criticism has been made on our labor unions for lack of like rules?

§ 8. What is a sympathetic strike? What is stated as to the Chicago strike?

§ 9. What was its main purpose? Why is a labor trust not to be feared? How are labor unions helpful? (Note.)

§ 10. What grounds have we for expecting the final triumph of industrial justice?

§ 11. What is the expectation of the ablest labor leaders of to-day as to the time and method of that triumph? What British and French methods are compared to each other?

§ 12. What form of patience should the poor hold fast? What injunctions of patience may be properly resented? What form of patience is condemned and what impatience palliated?

§ 13. How is the culture of discontent expected to aid labor's cause? How does it hinder it?

§ 14. What two classes of physiocrats are described? What psychical forces have expedited social evolution?

§ 15. What reasons are given why the workman should maintain a cheerful patience? What contrast is made between the poor rich and the rich poor? What are the essential materials of culture? Through what sort of workmen are improvements in the condition of labor mostly achieved?

§ 16. What is the "new charity"? What the newest? What court precedent as to dividends in hard times is offered as a suggestive example to the rich?

§ 17. What mitigations of industrial injustice are possible even in the field of competition? How is covetousness defined?

§ 18. Why were those thrown out of work in 1893 worthy of unusual consideration? How was that panic misrepresented? How many were the unemployed then estimated to be? How had the number been reduced?

§ 19. How is the movement from country to city related to the permanent overcrowding of the labor market? (Besides text, see note in Appendix.) By whom has the claim that man has a natural right to work been advocated? How is the claim answered or qualified? What successful farm colonies are reported?

§ 20. What points must be safeguarded in providing for the unemployed? What plans were adopted in American cities in 1893–94? What State has successful employment bureaus? What is the work of the Loan Bureau in New York?

§ 21. What facts show that underconsumption is the chief cause of financial congestion rather than overproduction? What per cent. of the total grain product is sold to brewers and distillers?

§ 22. Why is mutual conference between capital and labor appropriate and desirable? How does conflict delay progress? How does rant also harm the cause of labor?

§ 23. Is drink the cause of poverty or poverty the cause of drink? What are the chief causes of pauperism and dependency? What facts are cited to show that prostitution is not chiefly due to industrial causes?

§ 24. What historic cases are given of undue conservatism in churches and colleges toward new movements?

§ 25. What is said as to current criticism of the Church for not solving the labor problem?

§ 26. What form of labor sermons is disapproved? What exemplary labor conferences are cited? Why are one-sided discussions insufficient? What was the result of the Gladden conference? What other conferences are named?

SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION IN LABOR UNIONS, COMMERCIAL CLUBS, SOCIOLOGICAL INSTITUTES, CONFERENCES OF CAPITAL AND LABOR, ETC.

1. Are the existing concentrations of wealth in the hands of a few individuals either unjust or detrimental to the general welfare? 2. Is legislation to prevent competitors from combining in trusts desirable and enforceable? 3. Are trades unions, as at present conducted, beneficial

to their members? 4. Should the law prevent all watering of stocks? 5. Do poor wages justify poor work? 6. Is the employer alone responsible for wrong-doing which he requires of his employees? 7. Is poverty the chief cause of intemperance? 8. Is it necessary to be honest in order to be poor? 9. Is the financial condition of the average wage-worker improving? 10. Is a sympathetic strike, or a strike accompanied by violence, ever justifiable in a Republic? 11. Should the prices of necessities of life be regulated by law? 12. Is it desirable or practicable to transfer any considerable number of those who are irregularly employed in the cities to the farms? 13. Should a new declaration of inalienable rights include not only life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness but also the right to employment? 14. Would the suppression of the liquor traffic promote the commercial interests of the country?

(For a conference of capital and labor a better program could hardly be made than that of Emperor William—see Alphabetical Index.)

Field Work.

1. Visit local labor leaders for friendly inquiries, and arrange to visit labor lodges and conventions. Ascertain percentage of native and foreign members. Ask non-union workmen reasons for not joining unions. 2. Ascertain of employers as to favors granted employees, such as early closing, Saturday half holiday, summer vacation, profit sharing. 3. Make a local census of the unemployed, with prepared schedule of questions. Note reason given why farm was left for city; also why city is not left for farm. 4. Interview reformed men as to whether poverty prompted their beginning to drink.

BENJAMIN KIDD : The development that will fill the history of the twentieth century will certainly be the change in the relations of capital, labor, and the state.—*Social Evolution, Lecture IV.* 219.

HENRY GEORGE : Political economy has been called the dismal science. . . In her own proper symmetry political economy is radiant with hope.—*Progress and Poverty*, 400.

A. M. FAIRBAIRN, D. D. : The present state of the working classes may be described as one of alienation rather from the churches than from religion, [due to] the belief that the churches are not religious realities, not bodies organized for the teaching and doing of righteousness, but for the maintenance of vested interests and conventional respectabilities. . . In Protestant countries the social development has outrun the religious, and it will only be by the religious development overtaking the social that the Church will be able to reclaim the masses. . . If wealth were wise, there is nothing it would more dread than the separation of classes in the house of God, or the separation of different houses of God to different classes ; and if it were good as well as wise, there is nothing it would so little allow. The master who goes to worship where only other masters are, does his best to alienate himself from his people, to lower religion in their eyes, and to bring on the social revolution ; for the only salt that can preserve society is sympathy and communion in the most serious things of the Spirit between all classes.—*Religion in History and in Modern Life, pp.* 49, 18, 22, 35.

CHARLES D. KELLOGG : Is it your secret heart's conception, perhaps half unsuspected, that you will always meet the poor on missionary or asylum ground, and not on social or brotherly ground? Is there a gulf between you and them that you do not wish to see closed? If so, you cannot do the poor much good.—*Christianity Practically Applied, vol. ii. p.* 373.

GENERAL WILLIAM BOOTH : There is hardly any more pathetic figure than that of the strong, able worker crying plaintively in the midst of our palaces and churches, not for charity, but for work ; asking only to be allowed the privilege of perpetual hard labor, that thereby he may earn wherewith to fill his empty belly and silence the cry of his children for food. Crying for it and not getting it ; seeking for labor as lost treasure and finding it not ; until at last, all spirit and vigor worn out in the weary quest, the once willing worker becomes a broken-down drudge, sodden with wretchedness and despairing of all help in this world or in that which is to come.—*Darkest England and the Way Out.*

DAVID MACALLISTER, D. D., in *The Christian Statesman :* True reform must be radical, reaching to the character and spirit of both employers and employed. The supreme need, therefore, of the hour, is a church which shall teach fearlessly the responsibilities and the duties of the rich. Herein lies the great opportunity of the church of to-day. If she could rise to the occasion, and deal with the wealthy classes who fill her pews in the plain and faithful spirit of her Master, she could work a great reformation among them and at the same time attract the poorer classes powerfully to herself. She is preeminently fitted to be the mediator in this great conflict. The service which she might thus render to society is of incalculable value.

LADY ABERDEEN
PRESIDENT CANADA
WOMANS COUNCIL.
REV. WASHINGTON GLADDEN LLD
AUTHOR OF WORKING PEOPLE AND THEIR EMPLOYERS, APPLIED CHRISTIANITY, ETC
GENERAL WILLIAM BOOTH
COMMANDER
SALVATION ARMY.

IV. FROM THE STANDPOINT OF CAPITAL AND LABOR (*Continued*).

§ 1. WHETHER in conferences or otherwise, the labor problem should be studied with more regard to *history* and less to *prophecy* than has been the custom.

There was a time when labor leaders were chiefly prophets of future Utopias. High ideals are of great value. Without them there is sure to be low achievement. But impossible and extravagant ideals, or ideals whose achievement is too remote, are of doubtful utility. The early communistic ideals usually represent their industrial heaven on earth as achieved with impossible suddenness and impossible sinlessness. Labor leaders have abandoned such ideals, but their critics are still bombarding the empty forts.[1] Intelligent labor now interprets the future by the past, and so expects an evolution of justice that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.[2]

Utopias.

§ 2. The individualism which preceded the present solidarity of the race was well represented by "the independent farmer," who could have lived and flourished if the fence around his farm had shut him out from all the world, and all the world from him. He produced his own meat, drink, lodging, and raiment. In the period when the farmer was only a shepherd, the sheep furnished him his tent, his coat, and his food, the last supplemented by natural growths of fruit. When he learned to till the soil and locate in a house, he made his own lumber and was as independent as before. Homespun took the place of skins for gar-

The Individualistic Farmer.

ments, and home-ground flour supplemented fruit ; but he was still independent.[3]

Now the farmer is dependent on mills a thousand miles away for his bread, for his garments, for his lumber, and is also at the mercy of bad roads and worse railroads, and grain gamblers, who are worst of all.[4] Every farmer in the world suffered in 1893–94 because of bad financiering in Argentine, Australia, and India. It first affected the world's heart, London; whence the industrial poison went to every fireside in the civilized world.

Nor is the once independent farmer left, as formerly, to instil moral ideas into his family without other difficulties than those of natural depravity. The Sunday paper is thrown off at the nearest railroad station, at which his family is also tempted to Sunday excursions. The saloon has also come to the neighboring village, or else the city saloon has come to be so near by the building of the railroad that it has poisoned the country as well as the city.

§ 3. Production has come to be almost entirely a social act since the discovery of steam power introduced factories and railroads, multiplying cities and making all rural regions their surburbs. Electricity, which has already brought all the world into speaking distance, is about to narrow the world still more by increasing the rapidity of both production and distribution. Once a man's only competitor was across the street; now he is everywhere, and the single employer's contract with the single employee is necessarily governed, not by local conditions, but by national or world competitions or combinations. The first essential in any wise or effective study of the labor problem is the clear recognition that, in the main, it is not a personal or local, but chiefly a national and international problem. A manufacturer in St. Paul cannot considerably increase wages unless his competitors in

Labor Problem International.

Minneapolis and Milwaukee do the same. Not even by States, much less by cities, can a general eight-hour law be introduced.[5] An effective movement to that end must, therefore, be at least national in its scope, whether it seeks its goal by strikes or by joint legislative action of States and nation. So I said in St. Paul in an address to the Labor Day parade of the trades unions, whose members did not dissent from my statement. In the case of monopolies the eight-hour law need not wait for general adoption. I helped to secure from Congress such a law for letter-carriers and spoke at their eight-hour jubilee.

§ 4. Local strikes are mostly as useless as the attacks of a single Indian tribe on a United States military post.[6] When any proposed labor reform has enough men and moral force for a successful national strike it can better accomplish its end by the ballot. It would be an abuse of popular government for any class to use the brute force of numbers, even at the ballot-box, for securing an unjust class advantage;' but surely the class that has a large majority of the votes has no excuse for turning civilized society into the savage chaos involved in the actual, if not in the theoretical strike, when they have only to reach some conclusion that satisfies the sense of justice in their own majority to secure orderly relief through political action,[8] if, indeed, the courts cannot give them speedier justice.[9] The starting point in labor reform is, then, the recognition that industrial production and distribution is a social act whose abuses can only be remedied by social action on a scale as large as itself.

Strikes or Ballots?

§ 5. An intelligent conception of the labor problem as modified by this new solidarity must be based upon knowledge of the new era that was introduced by the steam-engine[10] and related machinery[11] during the second half of the eighteenth century, under the *laissez faire*

Eighteenth Century's Industrial Revolution.

policy of government, and also of *the newest era of paternalism*, introduced with the nineteenth century by the first of the British Factory Acts in 1802.

§ 6. Into the new era of factories and of political economy the world of the last century was suddenly whirled by the steam-engine, leaving industrial conditions hardly different from those of Moses' day for new ones essentially like our own.[12]

The manufacturer had been previously an individual hand-worker, as the word implies, manufacturing in or about his own cottage, aided by his household in turning raw material, which he bought himself, into finished product, and selling it at a profit.[13] Machinery massed men in factories under the new "wage system," with division of labor and new conditions of woman's work and child labor, and further perils from unfenced machinery and unsanitary conditions. Industry had suddenly lost its individualism and had become social. A new feudalism under "captains of industry" was established, in which the captains bought the raw materials and took the profits, paying their employees wages, not gaged by any study of the workman's rightful share in the product, but determined solely by the laws of supply and demand and competition. Each captain was expected to put his forces often to forced marches in the war of competition with other factories, each of whose captains was an industrial Arab, his hand against every other captain, and every other captain against him ; for Watt's invention of the steam-engine had been followed by Adam Smith's invention of political economy, which was, in brief, the theory that business needs neither God nor government, but only free competition, with "supply and demand" as its complete constitution and by-laws, and unrestrained selfishness as its secret of success. Thus a new era of political independence and industrial dependence was inaugurated in 1776. Adam Smith's proclamation of industrial liberty

was coincident with America's proclamation of political liberty, and each proclamation has nearly conquered the civilized world, in its own department. But Adam Smith's declaration of industry's independence of government has accomplished, in spite of his good intentions, the industrial dependence of wage-earners, just at the time when it seems most incongruous because of their newly achieved political independence.[14]

§ 7. It is not necessary to infer from this that Adam Smith was either atheistic or Antichristian in thought and life.[15] He surely did not intend to deify Selfishness and Liberty as the god and goddess of commerce. When a boy his eye fell upon that sentence of Jeremy Bentham, "The greatest good of the greatest number," which took such hold of his mind that it led him in manhood to write *The Wealth of Nations.* These views of political economy were originally promulgated as the fourth part of a scheme of lectures on moral philosophy, the first part of which was to teach that Providence is the soul of the universe ; the second, that sympathy is the soul of ethics ; the third, that justice is the soul of jurisprudence ; and the fourth, that unrestricted self-love * is the soul of national commercial prosperity.[16] In this fourth part he intended to include the three great principles of the preceding parts—Providence, sympathy, and justice. Self-love acting without restraints of government he deemed the natural agency by which "Providence" would work out for the whole community such prosperity as "sympathy" would desire and "justice" approve.[17] Thus a good man, with good motives, promulgated as a divine law, under the name of political economy, Robin Hood's

Adam Smith.

> "Simple plan,
> That they should take who have the power
> And they should keep who can."

* He advocated liberty only within the boundaries of justice, but his disciples in Manchesterdom took the liberty and forgot the justice.

Had he lived long enough to see his "iron law" of free selfishness developed by Ricardo and applied by Manchester, no doubt he would have recognized that the inward self-love and outward liberty he advocated needed to be positively and powerfully restrained by Christian sympathy and justice within, and by outward civil justice as well. His fundamental error was that employer and employee meet on terms of equality in the so-called "freedom of contract," whereas the capitalist has the advantage in a score of ways.

§ 8. The British Parliament, wholly controlled up to the days of Adam Smith and beyond by the employing class, had legislated on labor only to prescribe low wages and forbid redress by strikes. Therefore when Adam Smith suggested the "let-alone theory" of government,[18] workmen did not object. But when their wives and children began to suffer from unsanitary conditions and overwork and needless accidents in the factories,[19] they were roused to agitate for the ballot, that they might redress their wrongs.

Crimes of Industrial "Liberty."

The horrible cruelty and injustice to which British manufacturers subjected men, women, and children under the *laissez faire* régime, in the sacred name of liberty,[20] are recorded, not in the literature of agitators only, but in even darker lines in the blue books of the Government, which was constrained by the bitter cry of the oppressed to make an official investigation,[21] that revealed facts that outheroded Herod. His slaughter of the innocents—perhaps a score under two years of age in that little hamlet of Bethlehem—is a mere trifle to the child-killing of the British factory owners. Men and women were wronged also, but it will be enough to show how these Pharaohs of the oppression destroyed both boys and girls, physically and morally, in the days of the "white slavery."

"Children, it was discovered, were transferred in large numbers to the North, where they were housed in pent up buildings adjoining the factories, and kept to long hours of labor. The work was carried on day and night without intermission, so that the beds were said never to become cold, inasmuch as one batch of children rested while another went to the looms, only half the requisite number of beds being provided for all. Epidemic fevers were rife in consequence. Medical inspectors reported the rapid spread of malformation of the bones, curvature of the spine, heart-disease, rupture, stunted growth, asthma, and premature old age among children and young persons; the said children and young persons being worked by manufacturers without any kind of restraint. Manufacturing profits in Lancashire were being reckoned at the same time at hundreds and even thousands per cent. The most terrible condition of things existed in the mines, where children of both sexes worked together, half naked, often for sixteen hours a day. In the fetid passages, children of seven, six, and even four years of age were found at work. Children of six years of age drew coal along passages of the mines, crawling on all-fours with a girdle passing round the waist, harnessed by a chain between their legs to the cart. A subcommissioner in Scotland reported that he found a little girl, six years of age, carrying half a hundredweight, and making regularly fourteen long journeys a day. The height ascended and the distance along the road exceeded in each journey the height of St. Paul's Cathedral." [22]

Having read such facts from the blue books, one feels an imperative need of Mrs. Browning's imprecatory psalm:

"Still all day the iron wheels go onward,
Grinding life down from its mark;
And the children's souls which God is calling sunward,
Spin on blindly in the dark.

How long, how long, O cruel nation,
Will you stand, to move the world, on a child's heart;
Stifle down with mailed heel its palpitation,
And tread onward to your throne amid the mart?
Our blood splashes upward, O gold-heaper!
And your purple shows your path;
But the child's sob in the darkness curses deeper
Than the strong man in his wrath."

MRS. BROWNING: *The Cry of the Children.*

It was such infernalism that produced paternalism, which began feebly and ineffectually in the first of the Factory Acts[23] in 1802, a law of value only as the first line in the death sentence of *laissez faire.*

Hardly less incredible than the cruelties of its short reign is the fact that this industrial anarchy was actually defended by such good men[24] as Cobden and Bright, who, having espoused the doctrine that business needed no government, held fast to that *a priori* theory notwithstanding the *a posteriori* facts to the contrary, written in blood.

§ 9. But Ricardian political economy,* at first universally accepted, came to be more and more discredited[25] because of its cruelties and crudities, in spite of eminent and eloquent defenders; in spite of the cry of liberty, which always has a sort of superstitious influence upon Anglo-Saxons, as if Liberty were indeed a goddess that could not safely be denied even human sacrifices. The *weal* of nations was recognized as more and better than the "wealth of nations."

Political Economy Discredited.

The chief points in which that political economy has been found wanting are: (1) It treated economic law as natural law, sometimes as almost mechanical law.[26] The factories swallowing up children were but sea mon-

* See Professor Robert Flint's distinction between the political economy of Ricardo and that of Adam Smith, *Socialism*, 74.

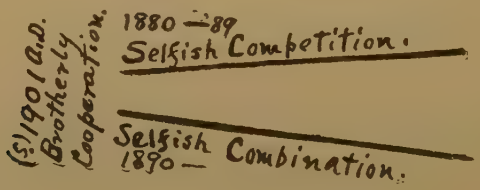
sters feeding on fishes, a part of the necessary cruelty of nature, with which man's intellect should not allow his heart to interfere. The declaration that "politics owes no allegiance to the Decalogue and the Golden Rule" is only the doctrine of political economy transferred from business to politics. Ruskin calls the imaginary "economic man" with which Ricardian political economy deals, a "covetous machine."[27] As a matter of fact we find that not even bad men, much less good men, are universally controlled by money.[28] Many of the vicious would rather starve in the city than thrive in the country. And there are thousands who, like Agassiz, are so devoted to some noble purpose that they "have no time to make money."

Many scholarly critics of political economy have said in substance what Samuel Gompers said tersely in a speech at Long Beach at my Forum of Reforms. "Political-economy was written by men who did not know the difference between a law of nature and the law of petty larceny."

Carlyle was the first of that goodly fellowship of prophets that attacked the materialism of the current political economy and kept alive in the people the intellectual and spiritual faith that there is something nobler for man than money-making, and that even in business one need not forget brotherhood.[29] He was joined by Maurice, Kingsley, Ruskin, Wordsworth. The white-hot wrath of these prophets Shaftesbury forged into the best system of labor laws that the world has ever seen. Thus was disproved the theory that economics belong to that realm of necessitating natural law which is above the control of the human mind. The whole history of economics and labor conflicts rather confirms the saying of Comte, "Ideas govern the world or throw it into chaos."[30] The false ideas of Adam Smith have wrought sad chaos with conscience and commerce, but have been

counteracted in part by the nobler ideas of Shaftesbury. We also have a part to perform in this dynamic sociology of right thinking.

(2) Another error of political economy, of the first magnitude, was the assumption that competition would be a perpetual check on low wages and high prices. As one has said, "Competition, when it is finished, bringeth forth monopoly." In 1880–89 competition became a "cutthroat," [31] which term has no reference to the lives of employees sacrificed, but only to the fact that rival business men had become unusually active in cutting each other's throats, commercially, by unscrupulous underselling [32] and overreaching; the upshot of which commercial murders was the commercial suicide of competition itself, that it might yield the industrial throne to monopoly, in which traders, tired of cutting each other, unite to rob their customers. As combination was the producer's only escape from competition, cooperation will soon be seen to be the customers' only escape from combination.[33] We are being corralled by selfishness into brotherly cooperation.



§ 10. Here the unfinished chapter of human rights finds us at its most difficult paragraph at the gates of the twentieth century, before the end of which we should have solved the problem of equal rights in production as justly and conclusively as we have solved in this century the problem of equal rights in politics.

Equal Rights in Production.

But the solution of the industrial problem is not an

easy one. Two things, however, are clear on the negative side: First, that the old political economy of selfishness was a monstrous mistake, and that brotherhood must be mixed with business in order to save both business and society. The leaders of the new ethical Christian school of political economy, which is building on the ruins of "the dismal science," putting "the royal law" of brotherhood in place of "the iron law" of competition, are unitedly teaching that social problems should be solved through the Church's aid, by the application of the spirit and law of Christ to all associated life.[34] Even those labor reformers who hiss any reference to the Church are unitedly recognizing that only the Carpenter of Nazareth can rebuild us from the ruins of the industrial cyclone of selfish competition and soulless combination. Second, that the rise of cities, the introduction of machinery, the division of labor, the dependence of each upon all in commercial prosperity, make individual independence in commerce no longer safe, and social control a necessary defense, not an abridgment of human rights.

"Personal Liberty."

§ 11. Many are restive in the new social conditions because they have not recognized that with the doing away of individualism in production and distribution, and of rural isolation, that was formerly the common lot of families, personal liberty must necessarily be curtailed both in commerce and in moral conduct. Personal liberty, such as is demanded by the would-be triumvirate of society—Covetousness, Lust, and Appetite—can be found only in the solitude of the wilderness. Even there, liberty is circled by law, but only by natural law.[35] So far as society is concerned, the solitary may keep a stench at his cabin door, and may make night hideous with drunken rage and revelry. But he who changes solitude for society surrenders a part of his liberty in exchange for the more valued fellowship and protection of society,[36] just as

he exchanges acres of rural land for a smaller but more valuable house lot in the city. There he cannot do as he pleases unless it also pleases his neighbor, who has equal rights. Personal liberty in society is an ample circle within which one can do what he likes so far as he does not interfere with the proper likes and true rights of others, for the protection of which an invisible boundary of law surrounds his personal liberty—a boundary which will not restrict his liberty unless he wishes to trespass on his neighbor's liberty on the other side. The fallacy of the personal liberty cry, as raised in questions of appetite, is recognized by many who do not yet see that it is just as fallacious, though more respectable, when raised in problems of labor. In exchange for the protection and facilities of trade that society gives to every business, and especially to incorporated business, society has a right, which is more and more being recognized by legislators and courts, to limit the personal liberty of employers and employees alike, so far as public good requires—a right which is very likely to be pushed too far, after being so long neglected in a superstitious fear that liberty would be jeopardized if the liberty of one man to wrong another were cut off.[37] As Ex-Senator Blair once said to me, "The whole question of liberty needs to be studied anew in our day." Christian and humane producers should help to make wise laws regulating production and distribution, before impatient consumers take their wrongs into their own hands and enact class laws. As one producer, however humane, cannot, to any considerable extent, pay larger wages or grant shorter hours of labor than his competiters; and as voluntary agreements among producers are ropes of sand, those who wish to be just should have their agreements made compulsory on each other, and on all too unjust to join them voluntarily, by having them enacted into laws.[38] Only by such social compulsion can such evils

as sweat-shops and child labor be abolished. As in Sabbath laws it is recognized, in the words of Horace Greeley, that "the liberty of rest for each requires a law of rest for all"—so in production, the liberty of each producer to be just to his employees and to the public requires a law of justice for all. Otherwise, the meanest producer sets the standard to which all above him must come down or succumb. Of course, a measure of personal liberty is left to every producer, but he who battles for the discredited and discarded let-alone theory of government must be very blind, or very busy, not to see that such a theory is a Rip Van Winkle, that ought to have stayed in the grave to which it was consigned a century ago.

§ 12. One who has prepared himself for an intelligent consideration of the labor problem by a study of its history can hardly fail to see that the solution must be socialistic, rather than individualistic.[39] I use the word socialistic in its true sense, as the opposite of individualistic, not as the adjective of socialism.

§ 13. Socialism[40] itself is worthy of the calm consideration of Christian scholars, for it is of Christian origin,[41] though, like some other isms, it has mixed human error with divine truth. But it does not contain as much of error as even ministers often charge upon it. One who ridicules the "grand divide" only subjects himself to ridicule, for socialism would not divide existing wealth among individuals, but unite it as the property of the people.[42] One who uses the word anarchist as the synonym of socialist is again confusing opposites, for the anarchist would have no government, while the socialist would increase the scope of government by annexing, gradually, the whole realm of business.[43] Although some socialists are materialists and free lovers, neither of these is of the essence of socialism, many of whose advocates hold to

The Nineteenth Century Socialistic.

marriage and religion.[44] German socialism contains as much Germanism as socialism, mixed as it is with political struggles against absolutism, and with the prevailing fogs of rationalism.[45] To see the essence of socialism,* which Schäffle so admirably presents in his little book of that name, one needs to read Anglo-Saxon statements of it also, of which the best are those of the British *Fabian Essays* and the American "Dawn Library."[46] The essence of this conservative Anglo-Saxon socialism is the doctrine that the people, through popular government, should by legal means gradually acquire ownership and control of the various departments of production and exchange as they come to be removed, one by one, from the field of competition by private and perilous socializing in the form of trusts; the end in view being equitable, not equal, distribution of profits.[47]

Permit me to submit a group definition of socialism and several other words that are often used inaccurately as synonymous with it, even by good writers:

"COLLECTIVISM," a general economic term for the collective ownership of property by the whole community or nation, includes (not so-called "state-socialism,"

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* Schäffle declares the essence of socialism to be the people's ownership, through the government, of the means of production. Mr. W. H. Mallock, in *The Forum* of April, 1895, declares the quintessence of socialism to be the question whether able men as a class would continue to develop and exert their exceptional powers—which in a socialistic state would be just as essential as at present—when nearly all the selfish motives which cause their activity now, and which have caused it since the beginning of civilization, are carefully and deliberately, if not vindictively, annihilated.

We go a step farther and declare the innermost crux of socialism to be the question whether civic patriotism will not some day enable rich and poor alike to subordinate private selfishness to public service in peace as well as war; whether "captains of industry" may not some day make salary as secondary as do those captains of armies who count their country's good and gratitude more to be desired than gold.

which is really monarchical paternalism, both terms inappropriate in a fraternal popular government—which all forms of collectivism presuppose—and the first of the terms, namely, "state-socialism,* inappropriate even in Germany, where it originated as a designation of humane benefits conferred by the government upon the people) :

(1) *Socialism*, which is the advocacy of the people's ownership and management, through popular government, of all capital, that is, of all means of production—individualism being retained in the payment for services according to merit and in the free use of such earnings as private property. *Municipalism*,† which is a limited socialism applied to city ownership of monopolies.

(2) *Fabianism*, which is the advocacy of socialism with the proviso that it shall be constitutionally, and so gradually, achieved.

(3) *Communism*, which agrees with socialism as to popular ownership and management of production, but differs in that it advocates the *equal* enjoyment of the product for consumption only—there being no private property for hoarding or transmission.‡

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* "State Socialists" in Germany are also called "Socialists of the Chair" or "Professorial Socialists." Professor Robert Flint (*Socialism*, 42) accurately describes them as "simply state-interventionists," "whose socialism is only the protectionism of paternal government. In calling themselves, or allowing themselves to be called Socialists they are sailing under false colors."

† "Socialism," says John Stuart Mill, "is any system which requires that the land and the instruments of production should be the property not of individuals, but of communities or associations or of the government."—*Political Economy*, *People's Edition*, 125.

‡ Professor Flint in some places so defines Socialists as to include "the Chicago Martyrs" (35), who are anarchists, and in other passages he makes all Socialists Communists (16) ; but on pp. 36, 55, he rightly distinguishes Socialists from both of the classes named, *e. g.*, he says (55) : "All Communists are Socialists, but all Socialists are not Communists. Perhaps all socialism tends to communism."

(4) *Nationalism*, which is communism on a national scale.*

§ 14. Full control of production and equity in distribution Socialists recognize as far away,[48] but even their opponents ought to be able to see that the people's gradual acquirement of natural monopolies, and the restriction of personal liberty in business for the benefit of the public, has been going on steadily since the dawn of the century in all civilized lands, and that too, not by the votes of avowed Socialists, who have nowhere had a controlling influence, but by the votes of so-called practi-

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* Nationalism should not be judged wholly or chiefly by Mr. Bellamy's story, *Looking Backward*, but rather by Mr. Bellamy's address, "Nationalism—Principles and Purposes," which gives not its final ideal but its immediate program—namely, government ownership of monopolies.

Anarchism and nihilism are often spoken of erroneously as forms of collectivism. Anarchy aims at destruction only, not at reconstruction. No doubt many of its advocates hope that some cooperative form of industry will arise on the ruins of present society (see President Andrews' letter in Appendix, Part Second), but their whole business is to destroy. In a letter to the author Mr. Benjamin R. Tucker, one of its foremost American exponents, gives the following definition: "Anarchy is a state of society where there is no government. Anarchists define government as 'coercion of the non-invasive individual.' Anarchists oppose any form of [industrial] administration involving such coercion. Anarchists *as* anarchists neither oppose nor favor any other forms of administration. In interpreting the anarchistic position, it is all-important to observe with utmost strictness the anarchistic definition of government." The London Anarchists published a pamphlet, which they distributed very extensively during their May-day parade in 1895. The *Freiheit*, New York, in a summary of the booklet quotes the following paragraph: "We do not share the views of those who believe that the state may be converted into a beneficent institution. The change would be as difficult as to convert a wolf into a lamb. Nor do we believe in the centralization of all production and consumption, as aimed at by the Socialists. That would be nothing but the present state in a new form, with increased authority, a veritable monstrosity of tyranny and slavery."

cal legislators, who did not even know they were socialistic.[49] Much of what Socialists ask our government to do in the way of public restriction or control of industry is already successfully done by some other government.[50] Inasmuch as complete socialism, which I believe with Professor Ely, and for like reasons, is at present impracticable,[51] is held by its leading advocates only as a far-off ideal, to be unselfishly prepared for but not realized in our time ; to be introduced only when social evolution has put such a new face upon both business and brotherhood that it shall be seen to be naturally the next step ; it would seem that Christian scholars, familiar with the laws of historic progress, ought not to vent their fury against that final step, for which all agree we are now unprepared, but rather calmly consider whether the nearest steps which Socialists propose[52] are not in accord with the historic movement of Providence and with public conscience, or at least worthy of debate, to which the ablest Socialists challenge us, rather than to war.

§ 15. *What Socialists* (*and many Anti-socialists as well*) *propose for early adoption is : city ownership and management of lighting plants, water works, and street railroads,*[53] *and national ownership and management of railroads, telegraphs, and mines.*[54]

Present Social Program.

It is urged against the adoption of these primary demands of socialism that even if they be admitted to be reasonable and are therefore granted, it will only encourage the Socialists to press their ultimate and unreasonable demands. Germany rather warns us that to grant what is reasonable, as in the case of its old-age insurance, checks discontent, while refusing what is reasonable, as in the Emperor's recent Anti-socialist proposals, among which was a denial of the right of wage-earners to combine, promotes the spirit of revolution.

§ 16. Cities in Europe and in the Americas are successfully and rapidly municipalizing water works and lighting plants—more slowly street railways.[55] The Brooklyn strike of street railway employees, during which half a million or more people were inconvenienced and imperiled through a quarrel caused by the injustice of private greed, will no doubt hasten the city ownership of these veins of commercial life.[56] *The American Land and Title Register* enumerates eighteen cities that in 1894 had private lighting plants at an average cost per light of $109.31, and twenty cities owning the lighting plants in which the average cost per light was $55.50. The highest cost of private lights was $170.50; of public, $82.40. The lowest of private lights was $80.00; of public $38.50—this with city governments notoriously inefficient. The favorable showing for public ownership will be greatly increased no doubt by the current revival of civic patriotism and the growth of civil service reform. The taxpayer finds in his lessened taxes sufficient refutation of the alarmist cry that all these forms of city ownership are but the rapids just above the falls of socialism. Municipalism he considers safer than monopoly, even under corrupt city governments. Successful municipalism will presently be the most effective argument for nationalism, at least for its immediate program—the people's ownership and control of railroads and telegraphs.[57] The injustice of the coal barons, who rob the poor first in wages and then in prices, is a more effective argument than any lecture can be for government ownership of mines, which naturally goes with railroad ownership, as the telegraph and express and savings banks[58] naturally go with the post-office.

Municipalism already Popular.

§ 17. This is program enough for present debate. Even this is, no doubt, more than the people are yet

ready to adopt, but not more than the people are considering to an extent greater than politicians dream.[59] This program will surely have become a platform by the time the new century dawns, and therefore should even now be pondered well.* An examination of a list of American millionaires published in the *New York Tribune* shows that the monstrous fortunes, which are so often cited as proof of the injustice of our industrial system, were acquired, not chiefly by aid of tariff legislation or by free competition, but by the free suppression of competition—that is, by monopolies.[60] If these were taken in hand by the government, the worst monstrosity of our civilization, and the most dangerous incentive to its overthrow, would be removed.[61] Few will deny that the new era of justice will make the multi-millionaires of private monopoly as extinct and as monstrous as the mastodon and the megatherium.

Monopolies and Government Ownership.

§ 18. In the national field the demand for government ownership of telegraphs is so nearly ripe that the private

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* Mr. Justice Brown of the United States Supreme Court startled the country with the following utterance in an address at the Commencement of Yale University in 1895: "While I feel assured that the social disquietude of which I have spoken does not point to the destruction of private property, it is not improbable that it will result in the gradual enlargement of the functions of government and in the ultimate control of natural monopolies. Indeed, wherever the proposed business is of a public or semi-public character and requires special privileges of the state or a partial delegation of governmental powers, such, for instance, as the condemnation of land, or a special use or disturbance of the public streets for the laying of rails, pipes, or wires, there would seem to be no sound reason why such franchises, which are for the supposed benefit of the public, should not be exercised directly by the public. Such is, at least, the tendency in modern legislation in nearly every highly civilized state but our own, where great corporate interests, by parading the dangers of paternalism and socialism, have succeeded in securing franchises which properly belong to the public."

owners are already quietly retaining the daily press for their defense.* The demand for government ownership of railways is being strengthened daily; more by the mismanagement of the roads than by any arguments of theorists. The question with many is not *whether* but *how* efficient government directorship or ownership of the means of communication and transportation can be secured.[62]

The following are some of the arguments urged for government ownership of railroads:

1. The United States Consuls, in November, 1894, made very favorable reports of the working of government railroads in France, Germany, and Russia.[63] *The Farmers' Tribune* in 1895 declared that only nineteen out of seventy-three governments did not own wholly or in part their railway system.

2. A large number of our railroads (156 on June 30, 1894) are under the control of United States Courts, through receivers, a clumsy, hand-to-mouth government management[64]—the Interstate Commerce Commission is another—both of which, however, admit the principle that the national government has a right to control and manage railroads, and show the confidence of stock-

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* Whether or not the "higher critics" have a literary instinct to detect what is inspired and original in the Bible, it requires no questionable skill to recognize that the numerous items in the newspapers unfavorable to the British government telegraph are "inspired" and not "original," as they are also not true. See favorable report of H. H. Martin, U. S. Consul at Southampton, England, to the State Department in Washington in 1895. *The Voice* (March 28, 1895), on the basis of that report, gives the following summary of advantages of the government-owned telegraphs of England: (1) A tenfold increase in messages sent; (2) A reduction of more than three-fourths in the cost of telegraphing; (3) A more than doubling of the extent of the lines, giving many new communities telegraph service; (4) A fifteen- to twenty-fold decrease in the time of sending a message; and (5) An enormous indirect pecuniary benefit to the people and the government.

holders and of other creditors and of the people in government management.

3. While many railroads have gone through bankruptcy, their multi-millionaire directors have, in many cases, gone safely around with fortunes beyond the dreams of avarice, derived from these very roads.[65]

4. Judge Cooley, when chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, also Charles Francis Adams and Mr. Stickney, the two last named being railroad officers, have all concurred independently in declaring that railroad managers, as a rule, are almost totally destitute of commercial honor.[66]

5. United States Consul Mason has recently forwarded to our Government from Frankfort an appeal of foreign holders of our railroad stocks for protection against the habitual frauds to which they are subjected by railway officers, which is causing the return and refusal of American securities generally.[67]

6. The great railroad strikes have fully developed in the courts the doctrine that railways are public institutions, and the actions of both managers and men, therefore, subject to the control of government[68] through legislatures, courts, and commissions—a mixed control as awkward as the management of Turkey by the Powers, the outcome of which in both cases is injustice and bloodshed.

7. The railroads, by irregular pooling and consolidation, are rapidly concentrating, with a strong tendency to become one system in form or fact—a vast, resistless railway trust—which seems manifest destiny, only to be prevented from becoming a curse by the transference of the railways, before their strength becomes too great by such a union, from private to public ownership.[69]

8. Hon. Carroll D. Wright, although opposed to public ownership, claims that the socializing of railroads has been three-fourths accomplished by shippers who de-

manded the Interstate Commerce law and by the railroad managers in their various combinations, and so prophesies that the wedge will be driven home, not by the demands of working men, but by the demands of stockholders appealing to government ownership against robbery by railroad kings.[70]

§ 19. The objection to government ownership of railroads that only private ownership would have developed them in the past as they have been developed is no doubt true.[71] Not until an enterprise has been reduced to routine is it suitable for government management. But to this it is replied that railroads of even our new country are now approaching, if they have not already entered, the routine stage. To the more frequent objection that government ownership would perilously increase political patronage, it is answered that civil service reform is a part of the proposed plan—that, in fact, such an enlargement of the powers of government would necessarily sweep away the whole spoils system, so taking the railroads out of politics—where they already are in force—instead of bringing them into politics.[72] Government might enlist, as a non-partizan civil army of transportation under a special Secretary of Commerce, the very officers and men now hired by railway corporations, the enlistment being for a long, definite term as in the army, to prevent sudden strikes. To the other chief objection, the vast national debt that would be incurred if the roads were purchased by government, it is replied that the roads would, of course, be made to pay any fair appraisement of their value out of their profits in a term of years.[73] Or the benefits of ownership might be secured, as was shown by Mr. George H. Lewis, of Des Moines, in *The Independent*, September 3, 1891, by a real government directorship, the railroads being consolidated by law in one system, after the fashion of the post-office; the control being vested in

a board of directors consisting of one director appointed by each State, an equal number by the stockholders, with nine appointed by the National Government, which would make the shares as valuable as government bonds by guaranteeing three per cent. dividends, and charging only so much for transportation as would pay this dividend and just wages—so saving to the people in reduced rates most of the vast profits now made by railroad kings.[74]

§ 20. More and more, in Great Britain and America, the liberty of employers to do wrong, especially the liberty of corporations, has been restricted by law,[75] notwithstanding which the corporations and trusts have come to be so powerful that it is a pressing question whether government will not have to own the monopolies at least, in order to save itself from being owned by them,[76] and also in order that a more just distribution of the joint product of labor and capital may be secured before the sense of injustice shall grow to revolution. Between the extreme view of those who would have the state let industry alone, and those who would have the state monopolize it, the Christian sociologist should impartially seek the golden mean, which Professor Ely considers to be government ownership of monopolies,* leaving to

* At the Oberlin Sociological Institute, in June, 1895, the writer suggested two propositions in regard to monopoly: 1. That it is a more important question than tariff, which, from a world point of view, is only a "local issue"; and a more important question than silver, which, with tariff, is a temporary issue, both likely to be speedily settled in the interest of commerce; while monopoly is a world question and an age question, the outcome of a century of economic growth. 2. The best anti-monopolist is the monopolist. What is to be opposed is not monopoly but *private* monopoly. Monopoly is economically as much in advance of competition as factories are in advance of hand-looms. The anti-monopolists who seek to smash monopoly and restore competition are fighting against nature and progress as vainly as the weavers who mobbed the first factories. Let unnatural monopolies, that is, those that have

private enterprise whatever monopoly has left in the field of competition.[77]

§ 21. A complete solution of the social problem calls for international action, and only small sections of it can be dealt with by any action less than national. The proposed cooperation of nations to repress anarchy may and should grow to cooperative action to remove its causes. "Reciprocity" may be the forerunner of some less selfish and more Christian industrial cooperation of nations, in which brotherhood will be found to harmonize with business, and so the narrow watchword of local competition, "The greatest good of the greatest number," may become the world's Golden Rule.

§ 22. Christianity and labor can most naturally enter upon that cooperative pursuit of industrial justice which is the duty of the hour by battling together, first of all, for labor's right to the Rest Day,[78] the gain of which to those deprived of it is greater and easier of attainment than the eight-hour law, and an earnest of all other labor reforms.

Labor's Right to the Rest Day.

My own experience in cooperating with labor unions in Sabbath reform may be suggestive to other pastors who wish to come into closer touch with working men in the interest of this or other reforms. When I asked the Central Labor Union of New York City, in the spring of 1888, for the privilege of speaking before it on "Sunday work," there was some hesitation in the fear that the parson would afflict them with a sermon. But wiser counsels prevailed, and I was given a most cordial hearing. I used as a text resolutions against Sunday work that had

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been prematurely made such by corrupted legislatures, be forced back into competition, but natural monopolies, which have outgrown competition by economic laws, should not be, cannot be pushed back into competition, but should be pushed forward from the realm of private monopolistic combination into the next and nobler economic stage, that of public cooperation or government ownership.

been passed by the Buffalo Central Labor Union,[79] and added as a corollary a resolution in indorsement of my petition to Congress against Sunday trains, Sunday mails, and Sunday parades, which was unanimously adopted. Having made such a beginning, it was easy to get a like hearing from the national meetings of the Knights of Labor and Locomotive Engineers and from many smaller labor bodies.[80]

The Rest Day is the north star of deliverance from "Sunday slavery." Sunday work is slavery. The slaves of the South worked but six days per week, as a rule, and had one day in the week for worship and fellowship and rest. Half as many of our people, black and white, are now "free" to work seven days in the week. Slavery was called "unpaid toil." The toilers, however, got their board and clothes. But John Stuart Mill, in his work "On Liberty," says that "operatives are perfectly right in supposing that, were all to work on Sunday, seven days' work would have to be given for six days' pay"; that is, the Sunday worker is an unpaid slave for fifty-two days, two months of each year.

§ 23. We are told that "the complicated civilization of the nineteenth century" requires that Sabbath observance and Sabbath laws should be relaxed. Nay,[81] this is a new reason why they should be maintained and strengthened.[82] Did Adam, to whom the Sabbath law of work and rest was first given, before the Fall—did he, who knew nothing of "cutthroat competition," and "soulless corporations," and "hard masters," and wearying "tricks of trade," need a Sabbath law more than we do to-day, when sin has put its curse into the Edenic blessing of labor? At Sinai, where the Sabbath law was reproclaimed, did those Hebrew herders, moving on at three miles an hour, need a law to protect them against overstrain more than the engineers of to-day, who drive their iron dragons a mile a minute, with hand on the throttle and eye on the

track—every power alert? Did those dozen farmers, from whose social plowing-bee Elisha was called to be a prophet—I have seen in that same region a modern plowing-bee of eighteen—did those farmers, gossiping together, as is their custom, while they kept step with their slow oxen, need a Sabbath law more than the motor-man who harnesses the lightning to his electric car, and drives through crowded city streets, where a moment's inattention may cause the loss of a pedestrian's life and of his own position? Did the farm of Boaz, where the friendly cooperation of capital and labor left nothing to be desired—did that and other such places of that age require a Sabbath law for the protection of servants more than it is required by the millions of employees to-day, whose master is "neither man nor woman, neither brute nor human," but the ghoul without a soul we call a corporation? Did Dorcas, sitting out in the sunlight beside her cottage, distaff in hand, leisurely spinning and weaving the coats and garments for the little orphans that played at her feet—did she require the protection of a Sabbath law more than the young girl of fourteen in a modern mill, working a dozen hours per day in the close air and clanging noise, marshaling a score of looms under a hard foreman?

§ 24. Turning to the more recent times, when the foundations of this Republic were laid on the Bible, the Sabbath being assigned a prominent place among American institutions—did our fathers, when they lived half a mile apart, curtained at night with the soft velvet of silence, need a day of protected quiet more than their sons in the tenements of to-day, where going to bed at night is often like the "charge of the light brigade"—noises in the flat at the right, noises in the flat at the left, noises in the flat above, noises in the flat below; the high fiddle-diddle of a midnight dance on the floor overhead; the crash of a family jar just beyond the wall on the

right; a piano through the wall at the left making love on one side and hate on the other at midnight ; while the flat below does its share in the torture by an early start on a fishing excursion to murder sleep in the morning ?

When nearly all the work was in the open air, in forest and field, was there more need to protect the toilers' right to one day's release from labor, than now, when many thousands work at night and in the mine, and thousands more in stifling shops ? Is there more excuse for keeping thousands toiling on the Sunday mail now, when a letter is carried from New York to San Francisco in five days, than in our fathers' days when such a journey took five months ? Was there less excuse for our fathers to issue Sunday papers when news crossed the Atlantic in two months, than there is for us when the news of Europe reaches us by telegraph the day before it happens ?

Every change in the industrial world since the Sabbath was instituted has been a new reason why God's Sabbath laws and ours should not be changed. They came to the kingdom for such a time as this.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

§ 1. What is the relative value of historic as compared to idealistic studies of the labor problem?

§ 2. How are the independent farmer of the past and the dependent farmer of to-day described?

§ 3. How have increased facilities of transportation and communication affected competition and production generally? What obstacles are thus presented to the introduction of a local eight-hour law? In what form of business is an eight-hour day always possible?

§ 4. Why are local strikes mostly useless? What is the only prerequisite to relief by the ballot?

§ 5. What two periods need to be studied in order to understand the labor problem?

§ 6. What sudden industrial transition occurred in the eighteenth century? What two declarations of independence were made in 1776, and what contrast have they developed?

§ 7. What in brief was Adam Smith's theory of industrial liberty and its concomitants? What was his fundamental error?

§ 8. Why did wage-earners make no objection to his proposals? What are the historic facts as to the results of the *laissez faire* or let alone policy?

§ 9. What erroneous conception of economic law was held by the followers of Adam Smith? Who was the first eminent protestant against the materialism and cruelty of this doctrine, and who joined him later? Who led the Parliamentary movement for the legal protection of labor? What erroneous theory as to the power of competition was also a part of the theory of Adam Smith's followers? What has been the history of competition?

§ 10. What new school of political economy is now influential? What is now the settled policy as to the relation of the state to industry?

§ 11. What limitations of personal liberty are made necessary by new social conditions? How is liberty for each dependent upon law for all?

§ 12. Is the dominant tendency in industry to-day individualistic or socialistic?

§ 13. What is the origin of socialism? How is it often misrepresented? What non-essential elements are mixed with German socialism? In what books is its essence best presented? How is conservative socialism defined?

§ 14. How far has industry been socialized already? What two divisions do Socialists usually make in their program?

§ 15. What do they propose for early adoption? What is the chief objection to these proposals, and how answered?

§ 16. What is the present status of municipalism? What contrast is given in the cost of lighting to the people of cities? How is the argument for government ownership of mines being strengthened?

§ 17. Through what form of business have multi-millionaires chiefly acquired their wealth?

§ 18. What are the chief considerations presented in favor of government ownership of telegraphs? Of railroads?

§ 19. What three objections to government ownership are made, and how are they answered? What plan of railroad directorship is given?

§ 20. Is there danger that trusts will own the governments if the governments do not own the trusts?

§ 21. What possibilities of international labor reform are suggested?

§ 22. In what movement can churches most easily enter into friendly cooperation with labor unions? How is Sunday work "Sunday slavery"? Why is not "the complicated civilization of the nineteenth century" a valid reason for relaxing Sabbath observance and Sabbath laws?

Subjects for Discussion in Commericial Clubs, Labor Unions, Industrial Conferences, etc.

1. Is compulsory arbitration justifiable, desirable, and practicable in the case of chartered transportation companies using public franchises? 2. Does the arbitration bill passed by the House of Representatives in 1895, at the request of railroad managers and their employees, sufficiently safeguard the interest of the public? 3. Is a stronger government control than now exists desirable in the case of public transportation companies? 4. Has municipal ownership and management of water works, lighting plants, and street-car lines achieved real success under trials thus far made? 5. Is it desirable or feasible to annex the telegraph and express business to the post-office? 6. Is government ownership of railroads and mines desirable or feasible? 7. Should the absorption of business by government be limited to forms of business that have ceased to be competitive and have become monopolistic? 8. Is compulsory competition through anti-trust and anti-pooling laws practicable? 9. Is cooperative production and distribution a practicable and comprehensive solution of the labor problem? 10. Is Fabianism the most commendable form of socialism? 11. Is socialism to be preferred to communism? 12. Does the complicated civilization of the nineteenth century constitute a valid reason for relaxing Sabbath observance? 13. Ought the Sunday paper to stay? 14. Is it desirable that Congress should stop Sunday mails and Sunday trains?

Field Work.

1. Visit farmers and ascertain their exact grievances and real hardships under present conditions, and the remedies they favor. 2. Examine business parts of the city on Sabbath morning, and make exact tally of forms of work and business in progress. Converse with those at work as to their views and wishes, ascertain number of newsboys selling Sunday papers in several cities, and estimate for whole country as to the number who are thus deprived of moral culture and led to break human and divine law.

A. M. Fairbairn, D. D.: The sovereign people ought not to be sovereignless; but their only possible sovereign is the God who is Lord of the conscience. His is the only voice that can still the noise of the passions and the tumult of the interests.—*Religion in History, etc., p.* 61.

Bishop Phillips Brooks: "Behold thy King cometh unto thee!" There opens before us a glorious vision of what the city might be in which He should be totally received, where He should be wholly king. —*From Palm Sunday Sermon.*

Professor A. A. Hodge, D. D.: There is another King, one Jesus: the safety of the state can be secured only in the way of humble and whole-souled loyalty to his person and of obedience to his law.—*Popular Lectures on Theological Themes,* 287.

Milton: A nation ought to be but one huge Christian personage, one mighty growth or stature of an honest man, as big and compact in virtue as in body, for look what the ground and causes are of single happiness to one man, the same ye shall find them to a whole state.—*Reformation in England, Preface, Bk. II.*

Lyman Abbott, D. D.: The four Gospels are the protoplasm of democracy. In Bethlehem was sounded the knell of exclusive privilege and inaugurated the era of universal welfare. The process begun in Galilee is not yet completed, and will not be until political economy learns and teaches the doctrine of distribution as well as of accumulation. —*The Cosmopolitan,* 1894.

Josiah Strong, D. D.: We need a new patriotism which is civil rather than military, which fixes its attention, not on the Union, which is no longer imperiled, but on local government, which has become widely corrupted—not a patriotism which constructs fortifications and builds navies so much as one which purifies politics and substitutes statesmen for demagogues; not one which follows the drum-beat to battle, but one which goes to primaries; not one that "rallies round the flag" so much as one that rallies round the ballot-box; not a patriotism which exhausts itself in eulogizing our institutions, but one which expresses itself in strengthening their foundations.

E. J. Wheeler: Politics should be an ennobling pursuit—the outer court of the temple of statesmanship.—*Prohibition,* 185.

John G. Woolley: Civilization has diurnal and orbital motions, like the earth itself, and days and nights, tides, zones, and seasons. That phase of society in which demoniac competition dwells in catacombs and tears itself, incapable of being bound by either human love or human law; where men fly at each other's throats like mad dogs, learn to feed on poisons, marry for lust or pride or spite or gold or power; steal for the mere excitement of it; incorporate to murder opportunity and hope in simple, honest, independent industry; rape the body politic to beget Monopoly and her idiot brother Anarchy; where laws are private schemes, offices well-nigh impossible except for trimmers and demagogues, and public franchises are racks to stretch the people on till they forswear their natal liberties; the world which has for its motto, "business is business," and which turns upon the caprice of the all-powerful rich and the madness of the all-impotent poor for its oblique and oscillating axis; . . . that, I say, belongs to humanity's *daily* revolution and the domain of politics.—*Prohibition Park Speech on Voices of the Century,* July 4, 1895.

V. FROM THE STANDPOINT OF CITIZENSHIP.

§ 1. "THE powers that be are ordained of God."[1] To a Christian nation that ought not to seem a new doctrine. But when Rev. Dr. W. J. Robinson stood with me in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives in defense of the State Sabbath law, and, with the solemnity of a bishop addressing a group of young ministers, reminded the legislators before him that they were civil ministers "ordained of God," "called" to serve Him and humanity by applying the law of Christ to civil affairs, it was manifestly to many of them, and even to some Christians present, a novel view of politics.

The Law of Christ in Politics.

The civil Kingship of Christ is not a mere denominational peculiarity of Covenanters and United Presbyterians. It is nowhere more ably defended than in one of the *Popular Lectures* of the late Professor A. A. Hodge, D. D., of Princeton, whose name, with those of equally illustrious ministers from all the great branches of the Protestant Church, was enrolled among the vice-presidents of the National Reform Association, which was organized under the clouds of war, in 1863, to recall the nation to its loyalty to the law of Christ, whose violation in the case of the slave had brought on us His judgments.[2]

When a United States Senator declared that "Politics owes no allegiance to the Decalogue and the Golden Rule," the indignant public retired him from politics to prove that the law of Christ had not been so retired. Many who think it unimportant to acknowledge the supremacy of the Divine Law in the national Constitution

were outraged by the denial of that supremacy.[3] The public are less sensitive when this denial is expressed only in practice. Neither business nor politics *is* generally conducted according to the Golden Rule, and in both there are some recognized, if not avowed, amendments to the Decalogue.*

But let us rejoice that the general protest against the political repudiation of the law of Christ in the case of the Senator named proves that public *conscience*, which is mightier and more enduring than public sentiment, as the ground swell of the ocean is mightier than the foam upon its wave-crests, has not conformed itself to the general practice.

Christianity and the State.

§ 2. The American theory of the relation of religion to politics is that the Church should not lord it over the state, as Rome has sometimes done; and that the state should not lord it over the Church, as is done in some Protestant countries where the minister has a "living," not a "calling."[4] It is generally agreed that sectarian appropriations, by Congress or State legislatures, such as Protestants as well as Roman Catholics have asked and accepted in the past, are, if not a union of Church and state, a dangerous approach to it. Protestants are therefore re-

* Reputable and even Christian men, as merchants and as voters, often favor the nullification of laws based on the fourth, the seventh, and the eighth commandment, relating to the Sabbath, the brothel, and gambling, lest bad men shall be kept out of their market or their party. In the Ohio Grand Lodge of certain "Knights," not of labor but of lust, Cleveland was publicly blamed for having raided brothels while these "guests" were there, and Cincinnati members, in urging that city for the next Convention, promised "the freedom of the city" in this respect. Mayor Wier of Lincoln wrote the author, in 1895, that reputable citizens of that city had blamed him for his then recent closing of brothels, on the ground that it had deprived Lincoln of the State Fair for the year, and sent it to Omaha, where these "accommodations," expected on such occasions, would not be denied.

fusing such appropriations,[5] and asking constitutional amendments[6] that will impartially cut off appropriations for Roman Catholics also,[7] and will further prevent the division of the public school fund with parochial schools, which has already been accomplished to a much larger extent than is generally supposed, through local school boards. But the mutual independence of Church and state does not forbid the union of Christianity and the state. Such a union has always existed in our country. The oft-quoted Tripoli Treaty, written by Washington's Secretary of State, and misquoted by secularists as the words of Washington, in which a Mohammedan power was assured, in substance, that the United States is *not* a Christian nation, is a wholly exceptional eddy in the contrary gulf stream of our history,[8] and is outlawed as a precedent by the contrary decision of the National Supreme Court in 1892. The report adopted by the United States Congress in 1829 which advised against stopping Sunday mails on the ground that such legislation was unduly religious, is also sidetracked as a precedent by the more recent act of the same body closing the World's Fair on the Sabbath.

§ 3. If I were a great artist I would paint the enactment by Congress of the World's Fair Sabbath-closing law as a companion piece to the discovery of America by Columbus, cross in hand, and the landing of the Pilgrims on their knees, to signify that the official recognition of the law of Christ in our land is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever.

Sabbath-closing of the World's Fair.

The scene of our picture is the Senate Chamber. Poetic and artistic license permit us, first of all, to put bronze tablets on the wall at the right and left of the vice-president's chair, to record corresponding action of the two coordinate branches of the national government. On the left, we inscribe the proclamations of Sabbath rest in the army by Washington, Lincoln, and Harrison; and on

the right, the recent unanimous opinion of the Supreme Court, "THIS IS A CHRISTIAN NATION."[9]

In harmony with these recognitions of Christianity by the executive and judicial departments of our national government, the center of the picture shall represent like recognition by the legislative branch in the enactment of the Sabbath-closing law. The time is the afternoon of July 9, 1892. The Senator from Western Pennsylvania, representing not himself so much as his unequaled Sabbath-keeping constituency, has just moved that the proposed appropriation of five millions of the nation's funds for the World's Fair at Chicago shall be conditioned on Sabbath-closing. In support of his motion he has sent by a page to the clerk of the Senate what he calls "an old law book," in which he has marked a passage to be read as his only argument. The moment for the artist is when the clerk is reading to the Senate, which listens in reverent silence: "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work: but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and hallowed it" (Exod. xx. 8–11).

The senator who had said that politics owes no allegiance to the Decalogue and the Golden Rule was not there to object to the relevancy and authority of this citation, nor did any other challenge it. Instinctively the Senate and the nation recognized that God's law binds nations as well as individuals. No one ventured at that time to add to that sufficient argument, which all that Saturday, and the next day in the *Congressional Record*, stood alone, like Sinai towering above the plain, and was

to the last the most impressive reason for the passage of the Sabbath-closing law.

Nothing remains to complete the picture, so far as the doctrine of God in government is concerned, except to put on another bronze tablet, above the vice-president's head, "the Christian amendment," by which the Constitution shall say what the Supreme Court has already said, as to the Christian status of our government, but in a more authoritative form.

Such an amendment is shown to be necessary, to give an unquestionable basis to our national Christian institutions, by the decision of the Wisconsin Supreme Court that the Bible is "a sectarian book" and as such must be excluded from the schools,[10] and also by the injunction of Judge Stein of Chicago against Sabbath-closing of the World's Fair—an injunction in defiance not only of the act of Congress but also of the "dictum" of the Supreme Court that "this is a Christian nation," which last this petty judge denied point-blank. He could not with impunity have denied it if, instead of being "judge-made law," it had been constitutional law.

I. POLITICAL REFORMS POSSIBLE UNDER EXISTING LAWS.

§ 4. Even more important than the *formal* recognition of the law of Christ, and the best means of securing that, is the *practical application of that law* in our politics. Rev. A. E. Myers, of the City Vigilance League of New York City, said recently, in my hearing, that the radical cure for political corruption is the exaltation of the ethical character of political action.[11] Something more than a "business administration" is demanded.[12] One of the most serious perils of our republic is the neglect of politics by reputable and even Christian men, which is no doubt largely due to the fact that such men do not recognize that both patriotism and piety call them to the polls and

Political Rights as Christian Duties.

primaries as loudly as patriotism ever called to war or piety to prayer.[13]

§ 5. This neglect by Christians of political duties is partly the fault of the preachers, who should more generally brand as a vice neglect to vote, save in cases of conscience. The pulpit should neither be a "stump" nor a hiding place. Some preachers think that to show themselves worthy successors of the prophet-statesmen of the Bible they should include elections and especially all primaries in their pulpit notices. It ought not to be necessary to say that no party meetings, not even for prohibition or labor reform, should be announced in the pulpit, unless all such meetings are impartially announced on the ground that political problems should in their season be earnestly studied by men of all parties as a Christian duty.[14] One theme the preacher unquestionably should present in election season, namely, the duty of political toleration. Americans tolerate 150 religious denominations, but many Americans have refused to tolerate more than one party or at most only one besides their own, and lost their religion in efforts to express their franctic intolerance toward each new party. When men are socially or commercially or otherwise abused because they will not accept one or the other of the two most popular views in politics, it is a treason to our boasted liberty only one degree better than the Inquisition, which required all to hold one view on religion.

Political Toleration.

As to specific political issues, a preacher should aim not at cowardly neutrality but at judicial impartiality, discussing in his pulpit only principles of supreme moral importance, while on lesser matters using his liberty as a citizen to speak to the community through the press and on the platform.

Is it not the preacher's duty as a Christian citizen to attend the primaries? Until he does, will not his exhorta-

tion to his members to do so as a Christian duty seem to be contradicted in his own practice, and so these corrupt fountains of politics remain unsalted?

The Selection and Election of Rulers.

§ 6. Those lofty critics and petty theorists who criticize our government as if it were, as in Russia, something separate from themselves and the people to whom they so speak, need to be reminded that ours is "a government of the people, by the people." Notice that in such a government "the people" is both subject and object. King Everybody, like one of the European monarchs, puts the crown on his own head. But King Everybody, like European monarchs again, rules through selected officers, and these, in our case, are chosen, not as we have fondly thought, at the polls, but rather at the primaries, over which the polls have only a veto power. As executive vetoes of unworthy legislation are increasingly demanded,[15] so popular vetoes at the polls of the unworthy nominations of the primaries are increasingly frequent and emphatic. When a corrupt party has been rebuked by defeat, through the revolt of its own best members, for presenting an unusually bad candidate, it is likely to fool the public the next time by nominating an unusually good man, confident of so recalling its own seceders and also enlisting that large class of Christians who hold the popular fallacy that if the candidate be a good man it doesn't matter about the party. Rather if the party be bad it does not matter if the candidate be good is what we are told by ex-Mayor Hewitt, so nominated by Tammany, who found himself, as even Presidents have done, powerless to go beyond the wishes of a corrupt constituency.

The Christian voter who is only a veto of bad candidates is doing something for the purification of politics, but far less than he might do. If one's political influence is to be positive and constructive, not negative only, he

must exert that influence at some sort of a primary as well as at the polls.

The primary fact in politics is the primary.

§ 7. Primaries imply parties. Parties are not evil, but only evil parties. Party means only unity of thought and action in politics.

There is profound absurdity in fighting city elections on issues purely national. * It is a blunder, if not a crime, that good men allow themselves to be divided and so defeated in city elections by making the issue tariff instead of Tammany.[16] But for the political bosses, who find it to their convenience to have one political machine for all elections, men would work not with one party, but—if Senators were elected by the people and State and national issues were so separated—with three—national, state, and local—not *belonging* to any party in the common, slavish sense, but staying with the truth whenever the party moves from it.

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* The writer is one of those who believe the popular watchword of reformers, "No national politics in city elections," ought to be logically enlarged into the watchword, "No mixing of legislative and administrative functions." Executive officers in the civil service should have no more part in legislation than executive officers in the army and navy.

"Theirs not to make reply,
Theirs not to reason why,
Theirs but to do and die."

When the Governor, in order to counteract the good citizens' failure to elect good legislators, is made legislatively equal to one-third of the State Legislature by his veto, and the Mayor is so made one-third of the City Council, it is no wonder these legislative executives discuss the wisdom of laws even after their enactment, instead of executing them; a habit that spreads like a contagion to the whole executive force until every policeman swells into a veto power and declares the laws, as one did to me, "very arbittery," instead of enforcing them. The veto should be given to the people by the Referendum, and executives left no task but to execute.

§ 8. In order to united and effective political action there must be some sort of a primary or caucus through which men and measures to be supported may be agreed upon by those of like views and aims.

Primaries having fallen into corrupt hands by the neglect of good citizens, the latter are vainly seeking for some substitute. Ballot reform, now generally adopted, allows nominations to be made by petition, a valuable provision for emergencies, but not likely to be effectively used except when the neglected primaries of both leading parties have more than usually outraged the public by their nominations. The law might and should recognize and regulate the method of making nominations so that all who voted the ticket of any national or local party, in the main, at their last voting, could at some convenient time and respectable place cast their nominating vote.[17] But the caucus or primary probably will not cease, nor do we know of any good reason why it should while our "government by talking" continues. If public counsel and eloquence may properly be used to influence politics in later stages, why not in its primaries? They should not be ended but mended.

§ 9. Never before were good citizens of all parties so unanimous in condemnation of the general incompetency of our rulers, from City Hall to Congress, as in 1893, '94, and '95.* But how came we to be so short of statesmen just when a great commercial and monetary crisis † made them necessities of national

Why Bad Men Are Elected.

* When Congress expired March 4, 1895, it was like the funeral of a cross, crabbed, unpopular citizen, in passing which a stranger asked the sexton, "What did he die of? What was the complaint?" "No complaint," said the sexton, "*everybody satisfied!*"

† Previous American panics have been accompanied by national revivals, in which the conversion of individuals was the chief accomplishment. The panic of 1893 has been accompanied by an equally widespread civic revival, of an equally religious origin, in which the con-

life? The answer is that good men cannot be elected unless good men are nominated, and that good men will not usually be nominated by primaries which good men do not attend.

Look at the primaries in saloons,[18] whose slates serve for political "slates," and tell me what right good citizens have to expect that from such a source, or from the larger nominating conventions which the primaries create, they will on election day be presented with any other choice than that between a bad candidate of their own party and a worse one of the other party. Those who believe that between two evils we should choose neither, in such case often stay at home on election day, which they would have had no occasion to do had they not stayed at home on the night of the primaries. Or else they vote for some better candidate offered by a third or fourth party, who cannot be elected, as their solemn protest against the sin of their own party in its unfit nomination—a nomination which usually could not have been made if the men who protested against it afterward had protested beforehand at the primary. The good man who ought to have been nominated was not, for the simple reason that the good men who ought to have been at the primary were not. Very likely the primary was on prayer meeting night because no Christian man was active enough in politics to object, and because

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verts are in the South, States, in the North, cities. The leading evangellists of the revival are: Rev. Dr. C. H. Parkhurst, author of the New York anti-Tammany movement; Rev. Dr. Josiah Strong, author of *The New Era;* Rev. Dr. F. E. Clark, author of the Endeavor Good Citizenship movement; and Mr. John G. Woolley, the prophet of the new crusade of the Church against the saloon. Mr. E. J. Wheeler's *Voice* editorials on the Church's unfaithfulness to the anti-saloon issue, and Professor George D. Herron's jeremiads on its unfaithfulness to the anti-monopoly issue—hardly more severe than the criticisms of the four first named on the same lines, though received less gladly by Christians—have been hardly less arousing.

Christian men were neither expected nor wanted. But they were needed, and would have been more truly Christian if, even on prayer meeting night, they had left the praying to the women, as the men of one church did, and had gone to the primary, pastor and all.* When Cincinnati was for a brief time redeemed from the domination of Sunday saloons in 1889, it was due, in part, to pulpit announcements of primaries, and Christian attendance upon them, through which tickets so much better than usual were nominated that there were three men in the total of both tickets fit for a Christian patriot to vote for—men so eccentric that they gave their word of honor they would keep their oaths to enforce the laws; and these were elected, with the result that two thousand liquor dealers were soon on their knees asking through their attorney to be forgiven, and promising to be good.

§ 10. Let it be remembered that no new political machinery can save us if bad men are left to engineer it. One of the most noticeable characteristics of the national conference on good city government, at Cleveland, May 29–31, 1895, which the author attended, was that whenever any one proposed a change of charter by which his city was to be saved from corruption, some one else at once arose and said that *his* city had made that very change and was as badly off or worse than before. Unsalaried city service was proposed, but Troy had become one of the most notorious of corrupt cities on that plan; spring elections separated from State and national elections was urged, but all Pennsylvania had tried that, and had not thereby ceased to be the most boss-ridden of all commonwealths in both State and city politics. Election of all the officers of a city on one

* Hon. Henry Faxon said in a convention in Berkeley Temple, Boston, "If the people who go to church would go to the caucuses there wouldn't be any need of reform."

ticket, in order to get better men than are usually elected by wards, was named as a panacea for "peanut politics," but Cincinnati under that plan had been for years without a single representative in the Legislature from Hamilton County who would introduce a reform bill for its good citizens even "by request." It was proposed to give almost kingly powers to the mayor on "the federal plan," authorizing him to appoint a cabinet of single-headed commissions, while only small powers were left to the city council; but Brooklyn had found that such a charter, without corresponding character in the mayor, did not prevent the revival of prize-fights in its midst, by permission of the executive, on the very day when prize-fights were excluded by the legislature from Florida and by the courts from Louisiana. Ballot reform was urged, but the best of ballot reform laws had been beaten by bribery in New Bedford. Civil service reform was favored, but it had been made a farce in New York under Tammany. Everywhere it appeared that the best machinery had been used for the worst purposes for lack of civic patriotism and vigilance in the body of the citizens. The history of municipal reform was seen to be one long search for a machine that would run itself and relieve the lazy citizen of the consequences of his neglect. Every such attempt had failed. It was the old boarding-house case over again: "If this is tea, give me coffee. If this is coffee, give me tea." The way cities have been changing back and forth from state control to home rule, and from council to mayor, calls up the lover in the *Biglow Papers:*

> "He stood awhile on one foot first,
> And then awhile on 'tother;
> But on which foot he felt the worst
> He couldn't 'a' told you, nuther."

The comparison of views made it very apparent that the best machinery was of no avail with bad officers to

engineer it, while experience here and there strengthened the conviction of many that good men may achieve good government with almost any machinery. This does not mean that one charter is as good as another, but it does prove that all the efforts to substitute machinery for good citizenship, for vigilance and votes, will be in vain. There is no salvation by substitution in our municipal life. The fifty per cent., more or less, of the respectable voters who do not vote in city elections may as well cease their efforts to make their laziness harmless by transferring powers from mayor to council, or from the council to the State. There is no escape for either pocketbook or conscience but by the path of vigilance and voting.

Political Machinery Insufficient.

A fascinating folly in all departments of life is the idea that failures due chiefly to neglect of individual duty and to lack of personal effort and energy can be removed by a mere change of machinery. The Sabbath-school teacher who has failed to interest his class because of his own lack of study and sympathy blames "the lesson system," and changes to another, when it is a change in himself alone that can better the situation. Many a dull preacher has found to his surprise and sorrow that even a Moody Bible does not make him successful, unless it is studied. Even so, if we should purify our citizenship by restrictions on immigration and naturalization, and an educational test for suffrage, we should not elect better men unless better men were nominated; and better men would not be nominated, unless better men attended the primaries; which even now good men could generally control, if they would.[19]

The man most needed in the primary is the very man who may think he has no right there—the independent voter. A man is entitled to vote—and the law should so provide—in the primary of the party whose ticket, in the

main, he voted at the preceding election. A so-called "straight ticket" is seldom really "straight" until it is "scratched." A party has really no better friend than those members who help to defeat its unsuitable nominees and so to save it from the straight defeat it would soon meet if such nominations were forgiven, and so fostered, by the better elements of the party.

Let us now see what can be done under existing laws through the executive and judicial officers selected by the primaries and elected at the polls; and then we shall be prepared to ask the legislative officers so selected and elected for whatever new political machinery the use of what we have may show to be necessary.

§ 11. Lawlessness, rather than legislation, claims first attention.

Lawlessness, a very different thing from anarchy, which receives relatively undue attention, is also more danger-

National Habit of Lawlessness.

ous, a more serious evil than intemperance, Sabbath-breaking, impurity, or gambling, because it includes them all. Anarchy proper is the doctrine of those who believe all government, despotic or popular, should be abolished. Only a few can ever be led to accept such a doctrine. Far more dangerous than anarchy is the course of those who believe in law but break it whenever it pleases or profits them to do so, so far as a threatening police club does not prevent.*

The statistics of the rapid increase of crime is sufficiently startling—murders multiplying three times as fast as the population—with American-born murderers in full

* Rev. Dr. Chas. H. Parkhurst says (*Independent*, May 9, 1895): "The real ground for alarm lies in this, that in what we know as anarchists—that is to say, in the men who make a business and profession of lawlessness—there is exhibited, ripe and gone to seed, the same tendency that in a germinal condition is diffused throughout an exceedingly large element of our population."

proportion.[20] In the words of our faithful censor, James Russell Lowell :

> "From the Rio Grande to the Penobscot flood
> This whole great nation loves the smell of blood."

Prison reform, both prevention * and cure, merits earnest study.[21] But all the punished crimes are but a trifle to the unpunished lawlessness.[22]

§ 12. If you would see lawlessness at its worst, look at the speak-easies in the national Capitol, where our lawmakers are also law-breakers, breaking a law they have themselves made. That liquor is there illegally sold was declared during the World's Fair controversy in both houses of Congress without denial, and I have personally verified the statement. †

For the lawlessness next in rank recall the World's Fair, where, by order of the local directors, with the connivance of various national officers, the Sabbath-closing law was nullified. Liquors were sold openly, although the fair was on prohibition ground—this with the formal approval of the national commissioners, in spite of a protest which I presented, with the late Mr. J. N. Stearns, in behalf of the National Temperance Society, backed by petitions representing a majority of our national population. As if that were not enough, the directors not only permitted, but by contract required, the exhibition of Oriental obscenity in abdomen dances, in defiance of State laws.

The lawlessness next in rank is that of the Sunday

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* Professor R. T. Ely says : "It is largely the social will which determines the amount of crime and pauperism. If we have the will to learn what should be done, and then the will to do what we know should be done, we may reduce to a small fractional part of their present force the dependents and the delinquents."

† The D. C. W. C. T. U. made public protest against the drunkenness and other disgraceful proceedings of the Sunday session at the close of Congress in 1895.

papers, which were instituted, in nearly all cases, when the manufacture, trade, and transportation involved were in defiance of Sabbath laws, as they are still in nearly all the States.[23]

The investigation of the Police Department of New York City, in 1894, showed that in a multitude of ways respectable corporations and citizens had violated the laws and so subjected themselves to blackmail, which, whatever the moral hue of the collector, can seldom be extorted, let it be remembered, except from the "black." In all departments of life we might well devote some of the energy now used for making new laws to obeying and enforcing those we have; for law-breaking is an almost universal American habit—a habit that, in the use of illegal Sunday trains, includes even some of the ministry.[24]

Lynching calls for our severest condemnation as a strange outburst of savagery, increasingly common in the North, yet more frequent in the South, that challenges the attention of the statesman and the reformer, but cannot be further discussed in this brief survey of citizenship.

§ 13. Above most other lawlessness towers that of sworn executive officers who make themselves perjurers by defending and befriending law-breakers.[25] In the American Railway Union insurrection of 1894, it was noticeable that the rioting was mostly in States and cities whose chief executives were apologists for anarchy.[26] It was a scene for a painter —truth if not fact—when General Miles of the United States Army, early in the Chicago strike, entered the mayor's office and suggested that he should call for State troops to deliver the city from mob rule. The mayor weakly intimated that he did not wish to interfere. General Miles then took out his watch, and said: "If you do not call out the troops within thirty minutes, I shall arrest you by order of the President, and take charge of your office." The troops were then ordered out.[27]

Executioners of the Laws.

In the States of Minnesota, and Washington, and New Hampshire, any citizen may give like warning to the mayor or any other officer who "wilfully neglects or refuses" to enforce the liquor laws. That is, the punishment of perjured officers is not by impossible impeachment but by indictment and trial in court, as in the case of any other perjurer. By such prosecutions or by mandamus, or—best of all—by righteous voting at primaries and polls, executives who will execute may be secured everywhere in place of such mayors as we now have, whom I have found by travel, inquiry, and by conversation with themselves—although there has been much improvement since the civic revival began in 1892—to be mostly either bad or goodish, or goody, or good-for-nothing—like the voters who elected them by sins of omission or commission. It is too much forgotten that the weakest spot in our popular government is the large city, for mayor of which, therefore, a stronger man is needed than for Governor or Senator. Our politics pines for pluck.

> "A ruddy drop of manly blood
> The surging sea outweighs."
> EMERSON: *Friendship.*

§ 14. In the controversy of the National Municipal Convention of 1894, in Minneapolis, between the Eastern men, who favored city government by mayors, and the Western men, whose preference was for government by city councils—the former putting the chief responsibility upon mayors with almost autocratic powers; the latter putting the chief responsibility, as in London, on the city council—history is with the Western men.[28] While an autocratic ruler, if good and great, makes the best government, whether for city or nation—autocracy, on the average, has been weighed and found wanting, and there is no reason to suppose that American mayors would use monarchical powers better

Mayor or Council to Lead.

than foreign kings have done. We want no "mayors of the palace." Brooklyn has found, by sad experience, that concentration of power in the mayor is of little value unless a mayor is selected who has courage to use it. Instead of assuming that city councils will always be corrupt and so must be shorn of power, let civic patriotism be so revived that good men will elect good men to this important body. And instead of increasing the powers of city executives, let them be compelled to use the powers they have.

Executive officers might greatly reduce the ills of the times, while waiting for better laws, by law enforcement. Many evils that cause a loud call for municipal reform are due to the perjuries of those who are sworn to be executives, but forsworn to be executioners of the laws.[29] The sale of indulgences to law-breakers in New York City is but an exaggerated sample of what is understood to be the custom in nearly all our large cities.*

§ 15. There is little to be hoped from any municipal reform movement that is more anxious to clean the streets of physical than of moral filth; that seeks to purify the cities without antagonizing the saloons, whose domination is the very citadel of municipal corruption. What has been accomplished by Brooklyn's victorious attack on "the ring," while sparing the rum? Its "reform mayor" within a month of his election was whispering that he believed in "reducing the saloons, if possible," and in "a judicious enforcement of the Sunday laws." Within a year of his election he was advocating the legalization of Sunday

Saloon Domination.

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*Voters who themselves ordered their officers to compound for a stated fee with the crime-breeding saloons ought not to be surprised to find the plan extended to the boon companions and habitués of the saloons—the harlots, gamblers, bunco-men, and thieves.

saloons by State laws—bound to make the saloons law-abiding, if he had to legalize all their crimes.

On one fundamental principle of municipal reform all the leaders of that movement, now at the front, are agreed, namely, that there should be no national politics in city elections. That public sentiment favors this is indicated by the provision in the new constitution of New York State for holding city elections separate from all others. But before anything more than a change of "rascals" can be accomplished, another issue will have to be added by the municipal reformers, namely, No saloon domination. When municipal reform usually lacks the power to say "No saloons," it can and should say, at least, "No saloon domination." Even Lord Rosebery, who is no Puritan, urges so much as that. It will not save a city to kill its Tammany, for the saloon is the tiger. He will not mind a mere change of keepers. In the words of Mr. Charles Stewart Smith, Chairman of the City Reform Committee of the New York Chamber of Commerce, "When the rum question is settled here we shall have good government." To the two negative planks named municipal reformers should add a third, which is positive—the motto of the International Law and Order League—"We ask only obedience to law." Even Prohibitionists should consider that a city's executive officers can have nothing to do with their State and national issue except where it is already the law, and there prohibition is included in the plank of law enforcement.

That city is happy indeed whose State legislature permits it to vote, as Chicago has done, for municipal civil service reform ; and for municipal lighting plants, as in some Massachusetts cities ; and for municipal street railways, which will soon be a third subject for local option in the cities of many States. American voters have been in the past more ready to vote for men than measures,

but the watchword, "Measures, not men," seems now likely to have its day. Both good men and good measures we must have.

§ 16. Institutes of civics and reports of riots have dispelled partially the recent dense ignorance of the people as to the relative executive powers of mayor, sheriff, governor, and President, as responsible in that order for keeping the peace in our cities—an ignorance which our schools should have made impossible. In my reform tours I have often come upon a city that was in despair because the criminal classes had elected a mayor of their own, or because the city council had refused to reenact some State law into a city ordinance, or had made a city ordinance contravening the State law. The city fathers of Bradford, Penn., having repealed the State Sabbath law, so far as their city was concerned, by a contrary ordinance, I suggested in a public meeting there that they should be formed into a kindergarten class, and supplied with little maps of the State that they might learn that Bradford is in Pennsylvania and subject to its laws. So in Denver also.

Relative Powers of Executives.

As to the perjured mayors that abound, I had a part in a most interesting exhibition, at St. Paul, of the relation of mayor, sheriff, and governor. The mayor, having allowed violations of law for years in the case of Sunday saloons and Sunday theaters and Sunday baseball, the officers of a so-called athletic club put up a cash guarantee that he would not interfere with a proposed prize-fight, also illegal, which guarantee subsequent events showed they were safe in placing. A pavilion was erected, and carloads of toughs and gamblers came from all parts of the land. Meantime a few good citizens, not hoping much, called a public meeting. Although the two leading newspapers were owned by the two chief officers of the athletic club, and edited accordingly, the

people rallied in force. The crowded, enthusiastic meeting showed that there were seven thousand that had not bowed the knee to Baal. The meeting, by resolution, declared that the mayor, in giving permission for the proposed law-breaking, had really abdicated his office by breaking his oath, and appealed to the governor to enforce the law, through the sheriff, the State's officer for the county in which the city was situated. The governor, although his business partner held the stakes, responded to the commanding voice of "the sovereign people" as their prime minister, and commanded the sheriff, on penalty of dismissal, to prevent the fight. The mayor threatened forcible resistance through his city police, but when, at the sheriff's request, a regiment of militia was called out, this perjured officer thought better of his threat. This lesson in civics was impressively completed when the regiment, early in the evening for which the fight was announced, marched through the streets and camped for the night in the building which had been built as a pedestal for lawlessness.

The Sunday saloons of Denver, although they had the mayor, himself a liquor-seller, with the police, on their side, were permanently defeated by the sheriff, who had been elected on that issue by the aid of rural votes in the county outside the city.

Another fight with Sunday saloons in which I had the privilege of sharing, at Cincinnati—already referred to—brought to view yet another way to enforce laws in spite of a bad mayor; which was done in this case through a city judge and prosecutor, selected from the regular party tickets as nominees that friends of law and order in both parties might safely unite upon.

§ 17. This brings us to the powers and duties of judges in law enforcement. In the case just referred to the judge did not merely wait in solemn passivity to judge such cases as might be

Powers of Judges.

brought to him by the people, but—for a while—aggressively pursued crime by his charges to grand and petit juries, and by active cooperation with the city prosecutor, who also abandoned the usual waiting attitude and hunted criminals, as in duty bound. Our courts are the best part of our politics, but many of our police-court judges really belong with their prisoners in the "pen."

Once upon a time there was a police judge in Cincinnati who was having "a little game" in a saloon when the legal hour for closing arrived. The saloon-keeper proposed to close, but the judge demurred and said he would close up when the game was over, if the proprietor wished to go to bed. After a while a patrolman began to pound the door behind which the tell-tale light and conversation assured him the law was being violated. The players fled out of the back door and over the back fence, on a nail of which the judge was "hung up," like many another "liquor case" in his own court. He remained quiet on his nail, however, until the patrolman had gone, and so escaped. The proprietor was brought before him the next day by the patrolman for the violation of law. The case was postponed and, later, nollied—all of which is a fair sample of the sort of courts we tolerate in our cities. Police-court judges and city attorneys are in many places excusing themselves for not trying liquor cases, and others that touch the vices which have a political "pull," on the ground that juries will not convict and the trials only make costs for the State.* Jury laws in some cases, and the methods of their administration in more, are a scandal indeed ; but a little money spent on such juries, showing that their verdicts are contrary to the clearest evidence, would doubtless result in the

* This excuse was made in Brooklyn, but the Law Enforcement Society proved that vigorous prosecution could win verdicts even from police-court juries.

rectification of the jury law, and thus supply the court with honest jurors.

Judges have great discretionary powers in the matter of naturalization, and might and should use those powers to check the growth of that evil of the first magnitude—the ignorant and venal foreign vote—by refusing citizenship, as they have authority to do, to such foreigners as are manifestly unprepared for its right use. In a Pittsburg court I saw twenty men naturalized in thirty minutes, but one of whom gave any promise of good citizenship, the others forming a squad in the modern invasion of our land by Northern barbarians. The judge said to me, after the ceremony, "They were no more fit to be citizens than so many cattle." And yet he had been too timid to use his great powers to exclude them from the ballot.

The pulpit and such parts of the press as are not in fear of the baser sort of foreigners—the only ones, save their political leaders, who would object—might make such a public sentiment, might organize such petitions to judges, that only the better sort of foreigners, who have first been *nationalized*, would be naturalized. Let us do this, while agitating for laws that make such action mandatory on judges too timid to take the responsibility.

In some States, judges have large discretion also in the matter of liquor licenses. In Pennsylvania this power is practically unlimited, but in few cases has a judge used his full power in refusing to license what would soon fill his court with criminals.[30]

II. POLITICAL BETTERMENTS THROUGH IMPROVED LEGISLATION.

§ 18. Dynamics are more than mechanics, men than methods, officers than laws; but we want both at their best. The good citizens we now have could dominate the bad ones we now have, if they would—even with our

lax laws of immigration and naturalization; even with the ballot in the hands of native and foreign ignorance. But it will be easier for the right to rule when we have better laws.

1. *Laws needed for purifying citizenship.*

The "Southern Problem." The negro and naturalization are the two serious snags in our suffrage, the second worthy to be called "the Northern Problem" as the first is pre-eminently "the Southern problem."

Unbiased students must recognize that the North made an almost fatal mistake in giving the ballot-scepter to the negro—the scepter of majority rule in several States—before he had been prepared by mental and moral education, as are European princes, to use it wisely and honestly. The South made a yet more serious mistake in preventing the negro supremacy they feared by lawless methods, when they might have done it legally by an impartial educational qualification for suffrage in their State laws, with a consequent reduction of the representation of the South in Congress and in the Electoral College to correspond to the real voting population, as justice demanded. In five trips through the South we found many Christians in advance of the politicians on these points. The devices formerly used to nullify the black vote having been used successfully of late by and against the new white party in the South—in South Carolina and Alabama respectively—the Southern conscience is at last aroused, and a civic revival is sweeping through the South; not, as in the North, with reference to the reform of city governments, but rather of State governments, with a good prospect that ballot reform, without the North's usual and unwise provisions for ignorant voters, will make a "New South" indeed ere long. Let every patriot help forward the movement, at least so far as to

"Let the dead past bury its dead."

Strangely enough, the politicians have learned nothing from giving political power prematurely to the negroes, and are making the same blunder on a smaller scale among the Indians.[31] A few Western counties are already dominated by the "Indian vote." Our "Century of Dishonor" in dealing with the Indians * culminates in making them, in their ignorance, soldiers and voters.

The Indian Vote.

§ 19. The educational qualification for suffrage is hardly less needed in the North than in the South. In the cities, the "black belt" of the slums often contains the balance of power. The foreign vote is that even in State elections, in most cases. In thirteen States—an unlucky thirteen—voters of foreign parentage are in the majority. But in most States the American vote, reenforced by the two-fifths of our foreign population who are American in spirit, might put an educational qualification upon all new voters, and should hasten to do so. Since 1890, as before stated, I have advocated the passage of such a law in every State to take effect on the first day of the twentieth century, now close at hand. Let the absurdity of having men vote who never read our Constitution end with this century. Universal suffrage should mean that every one may vote by achieving certain qualifications that are possible to all.

Naturalization.

Whatever other celebrations the new century's birth may have, it should especially be celebrated by the enactment of great and useful laws on this and other lines.

The consideration of the foreign vote brings up the Chinese question. Why have politicians so violated

* General W. T. Sherman, in an official statement, says that the United States has broken a thousand treaties with the Indians. See Helen Hunt's *Century of Dishonor*, and *Ramona*, and documents of the Indian Rights Association, Herbert Welch, Secretary, Philadelphia.

American principles in the disfranchisment and exclusion of the Chinese? We are told it is because they are immoral, and because they do not come to stay but carry their money back. But cannot both those charges be made with equal force against Hungarians, Italians, and Slavs? On July 30, 1894, the Pittsburg *Post* advocated a law compelling these three classes of Europeans to stay in this country, because they were so accustomed to carry their savings back to Europe. But Hungarians, Italians, and Slavs have votes, and so, although in their morals and habits and disposition to "stay" they certainly do not excel the Chinese, we cannot even get a law passed by which our foreign consuls shall effectually exclude from our land so much as their paupers and criminals.

Chinese Exclusion.

2. *Laws needed to protect the purity of elections.*[32]

§ 20. Specific evidence that a considerable percentage of American voters are venal has been repeatedly given in magazines and otherwise in recent years. This has been shown of Indiana, Delaware, and Connecticut particularly, which we have no reason to suppose do not together come fully up to the average of the country as a whole.[33] But the most surprising revelations are the wholesale and open briberies by both the city parties in New Bedford under the first and best of ballot reform laws, and despite the further fact that New Bedford is one of the few cities that has adopted the muncipal reformers' panacea for municipal corruption, the exclusion of national and State politics from city elections. This underscores a previous remark as to the insufficiency of any political machinery without manhood. At the 1894 election, according to *The Outlook*, the victorious party, despite its condemnation of the bribery by which its opponents had won the preceding election, devised a new method of bribery that ballot

The Venal Vote.

reform could not prevent, the payment of a minimum two dollars each to a great number of so-called "workers" (many of whom did no work except to bear about on their breasts the party badge), with an additional three dollars or more in case of victory to make sure that even in secret voting they would vote as they were paid. The first act of the mayor elect was to sit at his desk, behind a huge pile of greenbacks, and pay the promised bribes. There ought to be prosecutions, of course; but as the leaders of both sides, as usual, have been guilty of the same treason, it is likely that if undertaken they will, as usual again, never come to trial. In that same city, when the speaker was one of its citizens, bribery having been unusually bold at the polls, a voter was prosecuted who had been seen to receive ten dollars from a party leader just before he voted. Asked on the stand for what the money was paid he replied promptly "For a pig," which was both true and false, but suggests the difficulty of proving bribery. More severe laws on this crime are needed,* but a more severe public sentiment against every Benedict Arnold who will traffic in the sacred duties of patriotism, who will sell his elective or legislative vote, whether for patronage or money, is not less required. A man guilty of bribery should be made to feel, by social ostracism, that the brand of treason, self-inflicted, is upon him.†

3. *Laws needed to guard the purity of public office.*

§ 21. For better elective officers we must look to patriotic effort in the primaries, but the serious question

* The Corrupt Practices Act of Great Britain should be added to the official ballot and secret vote as the third essential of ballot reform—no election expenditures being allowed except for educational lectures and literature; so excluding the new "workers" fraud.

† "He who sells his vote, sells his country; and he who buys it immolates patriotism on the unclean altar of his greed and ambition."—*Archbishop John Ireland.*

remains how to secure an efficient civil service in the realm of appointments.[34] "To the victors belong the spoils" has a multitude of believers, not all of them politicians. They talk plausibly of the danger of "an office-holding class," and the fairness of "rotation in office," as if experience were not as valuable in government work as in like business when conducted by individuals, who do not discharge trained clerks and take on greenhorns every four years. The opponents of civil service reform forget that offices were not made to enrich individual citizens but to promote efficient government. Hon. Theodore Roosevelt in the *Atlantic Monthly* of February, 1895, reports that, up to the close of 1894, civil service reform had captured about fifty thousand offices, about one-quarter of the whole national list of appointive officers, measured by number, and one-half, measured by salary. In the same article he says: "This spoils method is that which prevailed in England under the Stuarts and the Georges, and which still prevails in Morocco, Turkey, the South American Republics, and other States not yet very far advanced toward civilization."

Civil Service Reform.

One reason for the lagging of this worthy reform, which should have triumphed as quickly as ballot reform and for like patriotic reasons, is that Christian ministers, in the past, have not usually counted it one of the "moral reforms" which they should promote as a Christian duty, nor even so closely related to the nation's safety as to demand their active aid on the score of patriotism. But surely it is no small danger to have a civil army, already nearly a quarter of a million and rapidly enlarging, dependent for its living on the continuance of the dominant party in power! Such a condition becomes indirect bribery large enough to turn a close national election.

This reform has also lacked, until recently, the sup-

port of working men, who counted it a gentlemen's reform and no concern of theirs ; but now they find that the one chief objection to the ownership and management of natural monopolies by government is the increase of party spoils which it is assumed would ensue, although every intelligent advocate of the new industrial functions of government expects civil service reform to be a part of the plan. Working men may, therefore, be relied upon henceforth to promote civil service reform as a preparation for State industrialism, which civil service reformers might well study as an ally that would hasten the triumph of their cause by making it a necessity.

The elections in Chicago and New York in 1894–95 must give a *swift* and *strong* impulse to civil service reform: Chicago by voting it, New York by furnishing the "horrible example" of the curse of patronage. New York has found that Tammany was but one of a tyrannical triumvirate, of which patronage and saloon domination survive to nullify, or at least delay, reform. Chicago having overcome both patronage and the "ring," let us hope will not be defeated by rum, which is third and unconquered of her triumvirate also. By its defeat, with the others, let Chicago yet more fully realize her motto as enlarged by William T. Stead, "I WILL GOD'S WILL."

4. *Laws needed to protect the purity of legislation.*

§ 22. There is an increasing hostility to the national Senate, partly because it is so largely composed of millionaires who are supposed to have bought their titles to membership in this "American House of Lords," and partly because it has in recent crises seemed too unresponsive to popular demands and too responsive to the wishes of trusts. This popular hostility showed itself in the very large vote by which the National House of Representatives, in July, 1894, passed the bill for the election of Senators by

Popular Election of Senators.

the people.[35] There are three strong reasons for this proposed change: 1. To prevent bribery, which is now suspected, with good reason, in the many senatorial elections in which men of great wealth or agents of rich corporations, who are not great statesmen, secure this "political prize." 2. The increasing waste of legislative time in prolonged deadlocks, which, in several cases, after wholly crowding out needed State legislation, have terminated by expiration of time without result, and left the State without its full representation in the national Senate. 3. It is increasingly important to separate State and national issues, which could be done if the legislature did not elect Senators. In that case State legislators could be elected with reference to their views on subjects which they could themselves legislate upon. As to the Senate maintaining its present conservative character as a body more removed from popular excitement than the lower House, that would probably be sufficiently guaranteed by the long term and by election from the State as a whole.

If the Senate is sometimes too slow, the House is often too fast, the members of the latter being in such close touch with the people as to feel every heart-beat of popular excitement, those of fever as well as those of health.

If the national Congress needs mending, what shall be said of the less satisfactory State legislatures? The common remark is, "This is the worst legislature we ever had." The people find even "worst" too feeble a word for our unspeakable city councils.

§ 23. Turning now to legislation, let us note, first, the proposed international legislation by which Great Britain and the United States are expected to agree that all future differences that cannot be settled by diplomacy shall be settled by arbitration. A memorial to this effect, signed by 354 members of Parlia-

International Arbitration.

ment, was recently brought by one of its members, Hon. W. R. Cremer, to our government, which received it with favor. This omen of peace, however, is offset by the rage for iron ships of war and the Napoleonic craze of our magazines, which recalls the words that Schiller, if I remember rightly, makes *Richelieu* say to *Napoleon :*

> "From rank showers of blood
> And the red light of blazing roofs
> You paint the rainbow, glory.
> And to shuddering conscience cry,
> 'Lo ! the bridge to Heaven.'"

§ 24. As to taxation,[36] the national Board of Trade and other commercial bodies have concluded, for one thing, that the tariff should be adjusted, as suggested originally by Mr. E. J. Wheeler of *The Voice*, through a permanent non-partizan tariff commission, representing all sections of the country, who should be instructed to prepare from time to time such a customs schedule as would afford needed government revenue and only as much added protection as would represent and maintain the higher and fairer wages paid in the United States as compared to Europe.[37] A good story has become current to the effect that a Princeton professor of political economy, a few years since when tariff was the class topic, asked several of the young men in his class each to define the purposes of the political party to which he was opposed so fairly that those of that party in the class would accept the definition. In no case was either a Democrat or a Republican successful. And that was before the Cleveland-Gorman tariff conflict of 1894.[38]

Tariffs and Other Taxes.

There is great outcry from those affected against income taxes. They are objectionable on account of difficulty of collection, but it is hard to see how the principle is inconsistent with the generally accepted

theory that taxes, as far as possible, should fall upon luxuries rather then necessities. A large income is surely a luxury.[39] Graduated taxation rests on the same basis.[40] Heavy taxation of large inheritances, especially those received by remote relatives, is rapidly growing in favor.[41]

§ 25. The most objectionable feature of national taxation is the internal (also infernal) revenue from rum, by which the United States Government is made the senior partner in every saloon in the land.[42] In the so-called "canteens," at army posts, which General O. O. Howard condemned as demoralizing in his last report,[43] as indeed they are admitted to be by the military officers at Washington, who superintend them—in these "canteens" a United States soldier stands behind the bar, by order of his superior officer, and sells to his comrades, in the name of the nation as the rumseller in chief, the liquors that promote disorder and lead to disgrace. But in every rumshop the nation, by its internal revenue laws, stands invisible behind the bar as a rumseller, and pockets a part of the profits. South Carolina * has become a rumseller yet more directly,[44] and Massachusetts seems for once eager to imitate South Carolina.[45] The abolition of "canteens," and of infernal revenue from liquors, and of all other liquor partnerships of government, ought to be our earnest aim.

Liquor Laws.

§ 26. Inasmuch as the liquor traffic is the worst foe of business, of the home, of morality and order, and of civil liberty, the attitude of government toward it should be one of uncompromising hostility. The plea of Christian

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* That the prohibitory features of the South Carolina law have enabled it to reduce the evil effects of liquor-selling is not a conclusive argument in its favor. It is a proverb that "the better is a great enemy of the best." The dispensary has no bar but may prove a bar to prohibition.

abstainers that wherever and whenever it seems at present impossible to suppress the evil of liquor-selling it should be licensed or taxed in order to restrict it [46] and improve its character [47] and make it pay damages is having its *reductio ad absurdum*, in that the same plea is being urged in behalf of the licensing of gambling and prostitution.[48] From the standpoint of the man who believes saloons are evil, the logic is equally good or bad in all three cases. That permission permits, whether the fee be high or low, is proved by the liquor-sellers' friendship for all forms of license as against any form of prohibition, which *prohibits*, as is proved, quicker than by any statistics, by the uniform hostility of liquor-sellers and their friends,[49] who surely would not fight prohibition if, as they say, it allows as much or more selling, while saving the cost of a license. Upon those who believe that liquor-sellers fight prohibition as philanthropists, in order to reduce their sales and increase their taxes, all further argument would be wasted.

I cancel all laws for State sanction or State sale of liquors by writing across them those words from Washington's Farewell Address, which New York selected as the fittest to inscribe upon the Centennial Arch:

"Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest may repair. The event is in the hand of God." *

To which may well be added that warning of Lowell, the censor of our national sins:

> "They enslave their children's children
> Who make compromise with sin." [50]
>
> *The Present Crisis.*

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* As inconsistent with license laws are the words of the U. S. Supreme Court: "No legislature can bargain away the public health or the public morals. The people themselves cannot do it, much less their servants. Government is organized with a view to their preservation and cannot divest itself of the power to provide for them."—*Stone* vs. *Mississippi*.

§ 27. As a curb on the despotism of large majorities, and to give minorities and new movements in politics a fair hearing in legislative halls, national, State and municipal, the Swiss plan of proportional representation, with cumulative voting, is urged with ever increasing favor. By this plan the so-called "representatives" would really represent the people, not majorities only. A new movement would not have to wait until it had won over more than five-tenths of the votes in one or more constituencies before it could be heard in the legislature, but by cumulative voting could have one-tenth of the representatives when it had one-tenth of the votes. On this plan a city council would all be elected on one ticket, not by wards, and the representatives to the State legislature from a city or county in a similar manner. The national representatives of a State would all be on one ticket, so that minorities might cumulate their votes on fewer candidates in each case.[51]

Proportional Representation.

§ 28. On the supposition that good men will not go to the primaries and elect better legislators, the movement to secure a popular veto of corrupt legislation by the adoption of the Swiss Referendum is gaining ground. It would seem to be a valuable reserve power in any case. It allows the people, by a petition of one-twelfth or so of the population, to compel the submission of a new legislative enactment to popular vote. The accompanying "Initiative" or imperative petition enables a certain number of petitioners to compel a legislature to submit to the people any measure not before the legislature which might otherwise be neglected.[52] These measures might well be adopted as restraints upon the notorious corruption of our city governments, so allowing a popular vote on questionable franchises, large appropriations, and other subjects liable to corrupt manipulation. For our smaller

Referendum and Imperative Petitions.

States, perhaps for all, these measures might also be effective without change. For Congress, perhaps for the larger legislatures also, it might be enough to correct the chief abuses, if it should be by constitutional law provided that every measure for which a certain minority of the adult population had sent sworn petitions should be in due course submitted to a yea and nay vote. Good measures are much more frequently defeated in Congress by that autocracy of national legislation, the House Committee on Rules—which *rules* indeed—than by adverse votes. And in the case of other committees representatives are less likely to vote for a good law when the eyes of their fellow-committeemen only are upon them than when, in a recorded yea and nay vote, the whole country is there to see.

There is much to be said in favor of these methods of giving the people a more direct control of legislation, but it is still more important, if "government of the people, by the people, for the people" is not to "perish from the earth," that the people should more fully guard against legislative corruption, as New York did in 1894, by constitutional provisions, such as the requirement that a law must be printed and lie three days on the legislative desks before it can become a law, except when the governor certifies to an emergency calling for a suspension of the rule. There has been a prejudice against "legislating in the Constitution" beyond a few general principles, but if the people will not elect more trustworthy and incorruptible legislators they should themselves put into the Constitution, once for all, the laws they approve on those subjects which are especially liable to be corruptly dealt with, such as gambling, temperance, purity, the Sabbath, and monopoly. When engaged in the anti-lottery battles in Washington, Louisiana, and Dakota, I learned that there are seventeen of our States with no constitutional protection against the legalization of

gambling, which legislatures at various times have been guilty of in New York, Missouri, Illinois, Maryland, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Louisiana,[53] but only once have the *people* of any State legalized gambling. The people may not average better than their legislators, perhaps, but they are at least too many to buy, and so they should put the legislation most liable to be bought into their own constitutional code.*

Uses and Abuses of the Lobby.

In State legislation "the third house," made up mostly of the lobbyists of rich corporations, is often more powerful than both the first and second house, made up of supposed representatives of the people, who are often more influenced by railway passes and lobby pressure close at hand than by the interests of their far-off constituents. The governor's veto, increasingly used and increasingly popular, is in reality, to a large degree, a veto of "the third house."

§ 29. The laws against bribery and especially their execution should be made more efficient, but laws against lobbying itself are unjustifiable, for the lobby is not in itself necessarily evil. "The third house" is another case, like that of the primaries, where a most essential and influential institution has been left mostly to bad men. The lobby is really the palace of the sovereign people, whence the people should suggest the course of their representatives, who are directed how to act on only a few subjects by party platforms. On the much larger

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* Certain decisions of the courts in recent years have shown that a written constitution is not always and altogether a blessing. The English Parliament, having no written constitution, enacts whatever laws it concludes to be for the public good, but many such laws have been killed before or after enactment in our country by that word "unconstitutional." The outlawing of the anti-sweat-shop law in Illinois in 1895, on the ground that the requirement of shorter hours of work for women was an abridgment of their right to equal privileges with men, is a case in point.

number, including questions of morals, they should be informed by their constituents personally of their wishes and their reasons. The post-office should be considered an extension of the lobby, and those should *lobby by letters* who cannot in person. In civics we should teach not only the citizen's duty to the ballot-box but also his duty to the mail-box. Few good laws have failed to pass a legislative body for whose passage those who desired them showed their desire by letters to legislators, which a citizen is as much bound to write as is the legislator to write laws.[54]

Here is a field in which the humblest citizen, who can write, can help to shape legislation; yet how few even of those who spend much breath in condemning the laws ever lift a pen to mend them! This neglect is due, in the case of some, to considering legislators as demigods, too far above common mortals to care for their suggestions. Another class do not write them because they have been led by newspaper abuse to regard all politicians as past praying for[55] and past praying to. During the World's Fair Sabbath-closing battle in Congress I asked a Pennsylvania pastor, zealous for the Sabbath, to write to Senator Cameron of that State, who had voted adversely in committee, reminding him that he was not in such a vote representing his State, which was the Keystone State indeed, the highest of all, in devotion to the Sabbath, and the most numerously represented of any in the petitions for Sabbath-closing. The pastor replied with scorn, "Write to Don Cameron? I would just as soon write to the devil." But that very suggestion, as presented courteously by another, led the Senator to vote the other way when the bill was passed. I once spoke to Senator Blackburn of Kentucky about a like petition against Sunday trains. He replied with amination, "Oh, yes! I have heard about that. My State is all stirred up in this matter. I have had as many as twenty letters on the

subject." The pity of it, that Christian citizens should so seldom write their Senators in behalf of good laws or in opposition to bad ones, so seldom about anything but selfish interests such as requests for offices and seeds, that twenty letters on such a subject from a whole State was deemed phenomenal![56]

A yet more suggestive instance of effective lobbying by letters occurred in the other branch of Congress, when the effort was made to repeal the World's Fair Sabbath-closing law. I looked up the record of the House Committee on that subject to see what chance there was of killing repeal in committee. I found that only three of the eleven committeemen had voted for closing when it first came before them, and three more when it came up in the House on a yea and nay vote, whose record would be known. Four of the other five voted against closing. The other member of the committee did not vote. It was important to know how he would vote as to repeal, since, if he was against closing, it was possible one of the three new converts to closing might be induced to relapse, so changing the majority of the committee. The non-voter happened to be from a district in which I had formerly lived, which served as an introduction and was of further service later. I referred to his not voting on this issue, which led him to raise his eyebrows in surprise that his record was being followed. (There would be better records if constituents regularly scrutinized them.) I then asked him which way he would vote on repeal. He had heard so little from his careless constituents that he did not, as is common with politicians, mount "the fence" with the skill of a tight-rope walker, but said boldly, "I shall vote for Sunday-opening." I replied, "I know Massachusetts and I know your district, and if you so vote you will not represent either of them." "I am the best judge of that," he said indignantly, as he turned away. I said to myself, I wonder if he would so

reply if his district were asking him to vote for closing? Accordingly, through Endeavor headquarters, I sent a hint to all the presidents of young people's societies in his district, and through the pastors of my old home, Haverhill, to all the pastors, that their representative evidently had not heard from home. A few days afterward the *Boston Journal* reported that the Congressman was "snowed under with letters against Sunday-opening." This led, not to a vote for closing, but to an armed neutrality which was equally effective, as the advocates of opening in the committee, though they captured one of the other six, needed the Massachusetts man to make a majority. As he wholly refused, even when in the next room, to attend the sessions of the committee on this subject, repeal was killed, as we had hoped, in committee, But the best of all was the fact that one district had learned the meaning of "government of the people, by the people, for the people."

§ 30. Our national perils are increased by the fact that while crime and corruption are increasing, their chief corrective, Sabbath-keeping, is declining. I have shown that the Sabbath is the Lord's Day, the Rest Day, the Home Day. The Sabbath is also the weekly Independence Day, when every employee should be allowed to come out from under human masterships and stand erect, with no master but God, and devote the day to the culture of intelligence and conscientiousness and the spirit of equality, which are necessities of life in a republic—intelligence to protect against the sophistries, conscientiousness to protect against the bribes, of the demagogue, the worst of despots, and the spirit of equality, that on election day, at least, the employees may not be merely the "hands" of their employer.

The Sabbath Essential to Civil Liberty.

The ship of state is in danger of being wrecked where those four C's meet—conscience, competition, combina-

tion, and the Continental Sunday. There are in this country enough railroads laid to belt the world fourteen times with a band of railroad iron, a Laocoön coil crushing father and family together by the Sunday trains. When we reach the portals of the twentieth century, to which we look forward with mingled fear and hope, there will be enough railroads in our land, at the present rate of increase, to belt the world twenty times. And they will be owned by twenty men, each one a "railroad king," in more than a figurative sense, with an "iron crown" twenty-five thousand miles around, compared with which the famous iron crown of Europe is but a baby's plaything. And when these railroad kings tire of wasteful competition, and elect a railroad emperor to act for them all, as one of them has already suggested they should do, he will have a power greater than that of the mightiest Roman emperor or Russian czar.[57] At the same time other little groups, including some of these same men, will own all the oil, all the coal, all the cotton, all the wheat and grain, all the farming machinery, and a few merchant princes will make the rural tradesmen into mere agents.[58]

Will "government of the people, by the people, for the people" then "perish from the earth"? Yes, if the Continental Sunday is allowed to form a coalition with capital in our land. Government statistics show that in Prussia the so-called holiday Sunday means Sunday work in 57 per cent. of the factories, and 77 per cent. of the establishments of trade and transportation. Such a people can only be "dumb, driven cattle" for despots to ride.[59]

In Spain a man was imprisoned for twenty years where he could not stand erect, and where he could only walk two steps in one direction. Released, he found himself the prisoner of habit, unable to do more than that in the open air. If our people are servants 364 days a year,

they will be servants of the same masters on the 365th, when nominally released to vote. They cannot stand erect in their manhood, or go forward independently in the solution of the great problems of state. But if we preserve our American Sabbath, and so our national manhood, the American people will in the future, as in the past, prove wise enough, with God's help, to take the ship of state safely through the rising tidal wave of trusts into the clear waters of fraternalism beyond.

"And in rapture we'll ride through the stormiest gales,
For God's hand's on the helm and His breath in the sails."

JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY: *A Song of the Cruise.*

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

1. What is the relation of the powers that be to God? By what denominations and by what society is the civil Kingship of Christ made a leading doctrine? Is the doctrine limited to these? How was it shown that the doctrine is entrenched in public conscience?

2. What is the American theory as to the relations of Church and state? What is the theory and practice as to sectarian appropriations? What acts of our national history have been inconsistent with our theory of the union of Christianity and the State, and what preeminently recognitions of it?

3. By what acts have the executive, judicial, and legislative departments of government declared or recognized that this is a Christian nation, responsible as a moral person to God's law? What constitutional amendment is needed to give national Christian institutions an unquestionable constitutional basis? By what court decisions has such amendment been shown to be necessary?

4. What is the most radical cure of political corruption? Is a "business administration" an adequate ideal for city politics? Is attendance at primaries and polls a duty as well as right? Should political notices be given in the pulpit?

5. What form of toleration needs especially to be preached? Is neutrality the true attitude for the pulpit as to political matters? Should a preacher attend the primaries?

6. How does the relation of government and people in our country differ from their relation in monarchies? How does the sovereign people resemble European sovereigns in the indirection of its rulership? Where is our choice of officers really made? What relation have the polls to the primaries? Does it matter about the party if the candidate is of good character? What fundamental political duty must be performed in order to exert positive influence in securing proper candidates?

7. What is the primary fact and force in politics? Is the existence of parties an evil? Why should city elections be separated from national politics? Why are they not?

8. Why is the caucus or primary needed? What substitute for it is provided? How could the abuses of the primary be prevented? What reasons are there for its continuance?

9. Why are not more good men elected to public office? Where are primaries held in our large cities most frequently? Which is the best treatment for unfit nominations—protest or prevention? What if the primary is on prayer meeting night? What came of Christian attendance at the primaries in Cincinnati?

10. What events have shown that good political machinery is of little value without good men to run it? If the ignorance were eliminated from our suffrage by improved naturalization and educational tests, how might good citizens be still left without good candidates to vote for?

Has a man who "scratches" his ticket a right in any primary; and if so, what one?

11. Which is the greater peril to our land, anarchy or lawlessness? To what extent is crime increasing? What are the present aims of prison reform? (Note.) Which is greatest, the punished or the unpunished law-breaking?

12. What are the three worst examples of our national habit of law-breaking? Who besides Tammany were shown to be law-breakers by the investigation of the New York Police Department? How have even teachers and preachers often broken the laws?

13. The Chicago strike brought out what examples of weakness and what of strength in executive officers? What States have adequate laws to punish unfaithful executives? What varieties of mayors are found in American cities?

14. In what respect do Western municipal reformers disagree with those of the East as to method; and which has the best plan, and why? How might the executioners of the laws reduce public evils?

15. What evidence has recently been afforded that it is useless to attempt to purify city politics without antagonizing the saloons? What three watchwords for municipal reform are suggested?

16. What are the relative powers of mayor, sheriff, governor, and President? What of city councils and State legislatures?

17. What three powers of judges might be exerted more positively in checking current evils?

18. What mistakes were made by the North and South respectively in connection with negro suffrage? What movement in the South promises improvement? What of the Indian vote?

19. How is the foreign vote a peril, and how can that peril be lessened? What were the real reasons for Chinese exclusion?

20. What has been shown as to the "venal vote"? How can the traffic in votes be suppressed?

21. What arguments are offered against civil service reform? What two classes that should have championed this reform have hitherto mostly failed to do so?

22. On what does recent hostility to the U. S. Senate rest? How far has Congress indorsed the proposal that Senators should be elected by the people? What three arguments for it are cited? How would the conservatism of the Senate be preserved in case of such elections? What is the current opinion as to State legislatures and city councils?

23. What recent helps and hindrances to international peace are mentioned?

24. What new mode of adjusting the tariff is suggested? What is its present relation to party divisions? On what general principle do the income tax and graduated taxation rest? What is the present status of inheritance taxes? (Note.)

25. What objection is made to internal revenue from liquors and to canteens and dispensaries and licenses?

26. Why should the State always stand in the attitude of a foe of the liquor traffic? Why not license it? What proof is given that prohibition reduces the liquor traffic more than any other form of restriction? What words of Washington and Lowell warn us against compromise with sin?

27. What is proportional representation, and why is it urged?

28. What are the Initiative and Referendum, and why are they advocated? How would they be of service in restraining city governments? How would they need to be modified for larger legislative bodies? What laws need especially to be put into constitutions where legislatures and lobbies cannot change them?

29. What can be said in defence of "the third house"? What mode of lobbying can be used by the whole people?

30. What three political necessities of life does the Sabbath supply? Against what special perils of our time does it protect us?

RESOLUTIONS FOR DISCUSSION AND ADOPTION IN GOOD GOVERNMENT CLUBS, MUNICIPAL LEAGUES, GOOD CITIZENSHIP MEETINGS, ETC.

1. *Resolved*, That the Sixteenth Amendment, by which the National Constitution would forbid the States to make sectarian appropriations, should be passed.

2. *Resolved*, That American Christian institutions should be placed upon an unquestionable constitutional basis by the incorporation in the national constitution of the words or substance of the declaration of the U. S. Supreme Court, that "this is a Christian nation."

3. *Resolved*, That neither political nor other corporations are "soulless," but rather "moral persons," owing allegiance to the Decalogue and the Golden Rule.

4. *Resolved*, That governmental recognitions of, and supplications for Divine aid, through Thanksgiving proclamations and chaplaincies, are not inconsistent with the American doctrine of religious liberty and the separation of Church and state.

5. *Resolved*, That church property should not be taxed.

6. *Resolved*, That Sunday mails violate the spirit, at least, of the constitutional prohibition against a religious test, by excluding conscientious Christians from the postal service, and also needlessly infringe upon State laws against Sunday work, and the rights of government employees to the full enjoyment of the general rest day.

7. *Resolved*, That Sunday trains should be discontinued, and could be, without material loss to the companies, the employees, or the public, if the element of competition were eliminated on that day by a national law against such trains.

8. *Resolved*, That every citizen should belong to a political party and take an active part in politics.

9. *Resolved*, That suffrage should be safeguarded for the new century at hand, by laws providing in advance that new voters, native and foreign, must then be able to read and write, at least, and must have attended expository readings of the Constitution given in evening schools or by judges of naturalization.

10. *Resolved*, That immigrants should not be allowed to vote until at least five years after making written application for citizenship.

11. *Resolved*, That all having the right to vote who neglect to do so at any election should be required to enter in a public record their reasons for not doing so, on penalty of forfeiting their right to vote the succeeding year.

12. *Resolved*, That suffrage should not be conditioned by sex.

13. *Resolved*, That election laws should be extended to protect political rights at the primaries as well as at the polls.

14. *Resolved*, That city elections should be separated from State and national elections.

15. *Resolved*, That U. S. Senators should be elected by popular vote.

16. *Resolved*, That the Constitution should not allow the President to succeed himself.

17. *Resolved*, That minorities should be allowed proportional representation.

18. *Resolved*, That the Initiative and Referendum are needed as checks upon corrupt city and state legislators.

19. *Resolved*, That a national imperative petition should be provided for by which a million affidavit petitioners could compel Congress to vote on any measure thus moved and seconded by the people.

20. *Resolved*, That appointments to civil service, excepting only the President's cabinet, should be made, continued, and ended, on civil service reform principles.

21. *Resolved*, That the neglect or refusal of a city or county officer to perform his sworn duties should in every case (enlarging Minnesota and Washington laws) be punishable, not by impeachment, but by indictment and trial in the courts as is the case with other perjurers.

22. *Resolved*, That the existing jury system should be radically modified.

23. *Resolved*, That taxes should be levied wholly or chiefly on unearned incomes from land and bequests and street franchises.

24. *Resolved*, That both labor and capital are more injured by the liquor traffic than by the present monetary and tariff laws.

25. *Resolved*, That the most powerful factor in the liquor traffic is the element of profit or cupidity, and that this is dangerously extended when by high license or the Gothenberg plan the whole body of taxpayers seem to secure a reduction of their taxes.

26. *Resolved*, That a national bankruptcy law is desirable at the present time.

27. *Resolved*, That no municipal reform or other civic revival can achieve permanent success except by the overthrow of saloon domination, the citadel of political corruption.

28. *Resolved*, That the political principle of "Protection," having been accepted by the party formerly opposed to it in the enactment of the law now in force, should be retired from politics, for the protection of business against the disastrous fear of sudden changes, by limiting tariff legislation to the year following each decennial census or by committing the administration of the tariff to a non-partizan commission, and that "Home Protection" should take its place as the watchword of a political crusade against intemperance, monopoly, and other foes of the home, the unit of the state.

29. *Resolved*, That contract labor in the State prisons be abolished.

Field Work.

1. Visit all penal institutions within reach. Examine records and interrogate officers and prisoners as to causes and cure of crime. Visit courts also. 2. Visit political establishments, city hall, etc. Examine Constitution and laws of State and city ordinances, and make note of laws neglected. Examine citizens indirectly as to what they suppose the laws to be. 3. See party leaders and ascertain methods and attendance and location of the primaries. 4. Test last State vote as to its bearing on proportional representation. 5. See resident legislator and ask as to proportion of good and bad men in lobbies, of selfish and unselfish letters in his legislative mail; as to good bills that would have passed if the people could have compelled a vote by imperative petition.

APPENDIX. PART FIRST.

REFERENCE NOTES ON THE LECTURES.

LECTURE I.

[Notes correspond to reference numbers in text of the lectures severally.]

1. Sociology is, first, descriptive—coordinated facts of society as it has been and as it is; second, statical—the ideal which right reason discloses of society as it ought to be; third, dynamic—the available resources for changing the actual into the ideal. This, in substance, is the definition of sociology given in Small and Vincent's excellent *Introduction to the Study of Society*. *Christian* sociology, we add, so far as it is descriptive, gives special attention to the historical modifications of society by Christianity; so far as it is statical, presents as the ideal of society, not that of reason only or of imagination, but that of Christ, which is wholly practicable; so far as it is dynamic, relies upon Christian forces as the only ones adequate to make society what it ought to be. Christian sociology is, therefore, *Practicable Christian Sociology*, the study of society from a Christian standpoint with a view to its Christianization. Whether sociology as a *science* may properly be called "Christian" need not be debated, though the author believes it may. Accepting the claim that when science is applied and takes on utility it becomes an *art*, this book is on the Art of Christian Sociology.

OTHER DEFINITIONS. *Standard Dictionary:* "Sociology, the science that treats of the origin and history of human society and social phenomena, the progress of civilization, and the laws of controlling human intercourse." ("Society, the collective body of persons composing a community, especially when considered as subjects of civil government, or the aggregate of such communities.") Professor Ely defines sociology, or the science of society, as the group name of the social sciences that relate to language, art, education, religion, family life, society life, political life, economic life.—*Outlines of Economics*, 81–82. Professor Herron defines "true sociology" as "the science of right human relations."—*Christianity Practically Applied*, 1 : 458. Dr. Joseph Cook, in a personal letter to the author, defines sociology as "The science, philosophy, and art of human welfare in life and death, and beyond death." Professor H. H. Powers of Smith College (*Annals of American Academy*, March, 1895) gives the following definition: "Sociology is the science of society. Its field is coextensive with the operation of the associative principle in human life. The general laws of association form the subject of general sociology, a science distinct but not dis-

connected from the branch sciences of economics, politics, etc., which rest upon it, though in part developed before it."

We now subjoin several expert definitions of the scope of sociology. The acme of sociology is to develop the life of the individual out of mere self-conscious existence into a personality that shares the life of the whole brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God.—Professor Graham Taylor, D. D., address on "Sociological Training for the Ministry," in *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1 : 404. What we mean by social problems is really *unsocial* ones. It is the dislodgment from place in society, inconformity to its standards, the narrowing of acquaintance and opportunity, which mark the evils that Christian comparison would obliterate.—Charles D. Kellogg, *Christianity Practically Applied*, 2 : 367.—Science of dependents, defectives, and delinquents depends on the science of the independent, the effective, and the efficient. . . The classes technically known as the defective, the dependent, and the delinquent are outside of proper social relationships. They are dead or poisonous matter, foreign and dangerous to the social body. . . The capable, willing people who compose society in the truer sense have a duty toward these unsocial people, but it is incidental. It is not the chief duty of society to act as guardians of such, any more than it is the chief duty of a railway corporation to repair broken rails. . . The aim of sociology is the development of social health, not the cure of social disease. . . The proper task of society is . . . such perfecting of social fellowship that each individual capable of social service shall contribute that service to social welfare, and in return shall have the amplest assistance from society in the realization of his manhood.—Small and Vincent, *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, pp. 40, 80.

We now add two definitions of Christian sociology : first that of Rev. Dr. George Dana Boardman, in a letter to the author, January 26, 1895 : "By Christian sociology I understand the science of society surveyed from the Christian standpoint." A definition of Christian sociology is afforded by the statement of the objects of The American Institute of Christian Sociology, of which Professor R. T. Ely is president and Professor J. R. Commons (Bloomington, Ind.) secretary : "1. To claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practice. 2. To study in common how to apply the principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time. 3. To present Christ as the living Master and King of men, and his kingdom as the complete ideal of human society, to be realized on earth."

2. Matt. iv : 10, xv : 4, xix : 18, 19, xxii : 37–39 ; Mark xii : 29, 30 ; Luke x : 25, 28.

3. Exod. xxxiii : 17–23, xxxiv : 1.

4. John i : 18.

5. John i : 1–3.

6. I am trying to show you, not that the Church is not sacred—but that the whole earth is.—Ruskin, *Crown of Wild Olive*, Lecture 2. The trustees of Trinity Church, New York, having been criticized because of the condition of their tenements and the character of their tenants, Mr. Bolton Hall wrote as follows in defense of the trustees to the New York *Tribune*, which we quote because we believe it represents a widespread error : "The trustees of Trinity Corporation are secular and not religious officers ; they are trustees, and are held in law to such administration of their trust as may result in the largest results to the corpora-

tion. I submit that they have merely done that which the law clearly gives them the power to do. The law is such that if they improve their houses and make them thoroughly sanitary they will be assessed at a higher rate, and the houses will be less profitable as an investment," etc. —Quoted in the *Kingdom*, January 4, 1895. In the *Life and Letters of Charles Loring Brace* we read that nearly fifty years ago, when describing some of the most hopeless scenes which he had witnessed in New York City, he writes: "But, after all, the inefficiency of religion doesn't strike me so much in such places, as in what I see every day, and what I realize constantly of our New England religion. Its affecting so sadly little any of our practical business relations; so seldom making a merchant exactly honest."

7. Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone (article on the Lord's Day, *McClure's Magazine* for March, 1895) says: "The question for the Christian is not how much of the Lord's Day shall we give to service directly divine. If there be any analogous question it is, rather, How much of it shall we withhold? A suggestion to which the answer obviously is, As much, and as much only, as is required by necessity and by charity or mercy. These are undoubtedly terms of a certain elasticity, but they are quite capable of sufficient interpretation by honest intention and an enlightened conscience. If it be said that religious services are not suited for extension over the whole day, and could only lead to exhaustion and reaction, I would reply that the business of religion is to raise up our entire nature into the image of God, and that this, properly considered, is a large employment—so large that it might be termed as having no bounds. What is essential is that to the new life should belong the flower and vigor of the day. We are born on each Lord's Day morning into a new climate, a new atmosphere; and in that new atmosphere (so to speak) by the law of a renovated nature, the lungs and heart of a Christian life should spontaneously and continuously drink in the vital air."

The Independent of February 14, 1895, gives the following story of heroic loyalty to the Sabbath, which should shame many American Christians, who in this matter often obey men rather than God, whenever any loss or inconvenience is involved. "The Sunday before Christmas the Turkish general commanding the garrison at Nicomedia summoned an Armenian merchant of the town and ordered him to open his shop for business, as he wished to buy some goods. The merchant respectfully replied that on Sunday he could not transact business, his religion requiring him to devote the day to religious observances. The Turk cursed him and his religion, and repeated his order. The merchant remained firm. The general struck the man in the face, and commanded him to open his shop and transact business, on pain of being 'flogged to pieces.' But this Christian merchant said: 'You may beat me or kill me, if you will, but I will not do what I know to be wrong.' At this the furious pasha sent for the police, and said to the merchant: 'Get out of my sight.' The merchant gave this order a wider interpretation than was intended, and 'got' so effectually that when the police arrived they could not find him. Meantime, someone suggested to the pasha the wisdom of dropping the matter, since Nicomedia is pretty near the capital and the foreign embassies. Monday morning the pasha went to the merchant's shop, saluted him as if nothing had happened, and, by way of atonement for the brutalities of the previous day, he

bought various articles of the relieved merchant. He did not pay for the goods, and probably will not. But the merchant is ready for congratulations on having got off so easily."

The Sabbath is here considered only in its religious aspect. For other aspects, treated elsewhere, see alphabetical index at close of the book, and so on other topics, many of which are considered in several lectures from varied standpoints.

8. Adventist, Catholic, Calvinist, Covenanter, Church and State.

9. Regenerated individual souls are a vast matter, but principally because they are the material upon which the structure of regenerated society has to depend.—Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, in *Christianity Practically Applied*, p. 429. While we are ready to say, Legislate . . . , Educate . . . , we say above everything else, Regenerate.—Workman's speech to workmen in Exeter Hall.

10. Socialism in this more general sense [as the opposite of individualism] implies the rejection of the doctrine of selfishness as a sufficient social force and the affirmation of altruism as a principle of social action. —Ely's *Socialism*, 3. Professor Ely quotes Bishop Wescott as saying that the central idea of socialism, using the word in this same general sense, is that "the goal of human endeavor is the common well-being of all alike . . . as opposed to the special development of a race or a class."—Certain it is, that it [social perfection] can never be brought about by any mere political institutions, by checks and counterchecks of interest, by any balance of international powers. Only Christianity can effect this universal brotherhood of nations, and bind the human family together in a rational, that is, a free moral society.—Guizot, *History of Civilization*, 1 : 31, note. That something more than industrial changes is needed to rid labor of injustice, was incidentally shown in a recent statement, from a purely business standpoint, that Southern mine owners had found no foremen so "valuable" in handling negro workmen as men of their own color, since they were "more relentless" in keeping the men up to work than any others. So, in the North, the labor conflict is quite as much labor against labor as labor against capital. Evidently, all parties to the conflict need a new spirit.

11. Our leading evangelists—Mr. Moody, B. Fay Mills, and others—rebuke personal and social sins with great faithfulness, but many pastors neglect personal ethics in the examination for Church membership, and fail to organize their new forces to promote social ethics. The pastor, in dealing with a new heart at white heat, should shape it to a right ethical pattern, lest it become impossible to do so when the stamp of church membership has been put upon wrong habits that have passed the examination unchallenged. It is by such neglect of ethics at the critical moment, when change would be easy, that churches everywhere have become weighted and handicapped with members who never gave up their Sunday papers, their Sunday mail, their Sunday train, their wine glass, their vulgar stories, their stock gambling.

12. Mr. Gladstone, writing in the columns of the *Presbyterian*, of London, on the subject of the most effective preaching, declares that he has "one thing against the clergy, both of the country and in the town"—they are not severe enough on their congregations. "They do not sufficiently lay upon the souls and consciences of their hearers their moral obligations, and probe their hearts, and bring up their whole lives and actions to the bar of conscience." The class of sermons which Mr.

Gladstone thinks to be most needed are of the class which offended Lord Melbourne, of whom he tells this story: Lord Melbourne was seen one day coming from a church in the country in a mighty fume. Finding a friend, he exclaimed, "It is too bad! I have always been a supporter of the Church, and I have always upheld the clergy. But it is really too bad to have to listen to a sermon like that we have had this morning. Why, the preacher actually insisted on applying religion to a man's private life!" Commenting on this singular episode, Mr. Gladstone remarks: "But this is the kind of preaching which I like best—the kind of preaching which men need most; but it is also the kind of which they get the least." The reader may here recall what a noted New England statesman of his day once wrote to his pastor, a divine equally distinguished at the time, and which was most infelicitously made public: "I can testify," wrote this statesman, "that in all the years during which I have attended upon your ministry you have never aroused a single resentment nor for one moment disturbed the perfect restfulness I have always found in your preaching." This last incident, added by *Christian Work*, calls up an unpublished story of a business man of Brooklyn, who ingenuously told his pastor that "his corns never troubled him except when he was sitting in church and had nothing on his mind."

13. We suggest the following sociological year for sermons or prayer-meeting talks or studies:

January, Christian Education. Sabbath preceding Day of Prayer for Colleges.

February, Municipal Reform. Sabbath preceding Washington's Birthday.

March, Immigration. Sabbath preceding St. Patrick's Day.

April, Sabbath Reform. First or second Sabbath, or both, which bound World's Week of Prayer for the Sabbath.

May, Labor Reform. Sabbath following May 1, the World's "Labor Day."

June, The Family. First or second Sabbath, suggested by the fact that June is the wedding month.

July, National Reforms. First Sabbath, as nearest Fourth of July.

August, The New Science of Summer Charities. First Sabbath.

September, Gambling. Fourth Sabbath, suggested by gambling on the harvest.

October, Criminology. Fourth Sabbath.

November, Charities. Sabbath before Thanksgiving.

December, Total Abstinence. Second Sabbath. Suggested by holiday perils.

14. On questions about which good people are generally agreed one should, of course, be an advocate. The reference here is to open questions about which equally good people hold opposite views. On these a judicial attitude is due. "We use the word honesty too exclusively in a commercial sense," says *The Outlook*. "Honesty demands the impartial attitude; it compels a trinity of relationships. Each man becomes complainant, defendant, and judge; and his decision and his attitude after his decision mark the degree of his honesty. Honesty implies the compulsion of the will to work in harmony with a decision taken when all sides have been brought to the bar of judgment unbiased by prejudice."

15. A professor of Christian sociology could read and expound con-

cisely the whole English Bible during a seminary course in a half-hour per day, if more time could not be afforded. Better still, we think, if both the theological and sociological meanings were developed together in brief chapel expositions covering the entire Bible in a student's course.

16. For example, the writer found the following sociological passages in a single evening: Gen. i : 27, ii : 21–24 ; iii : 3 ; iv : 17, last clause, xviii : 18–33 ; Exod. i : 8–16, v : 1–9, xvi : 22–31, xviii : 13–27, xx : 1–17 ; xxi. 1–11. (Note that although slavery, like divorce, could not be abolished in Old Testament times, it was restrained to an extent never found elsewhere. All Bible countries have since abolished it and no others.) Exod. xxi : 27, 29, xxii : 21–27, xxiii : 6–12, xxxi : 1–5 ; Lev. vi : 1–5, xix : 9–18, 30–37, xxv : 8–55 ; Deut. xxii : 8, xxv : 1–3, 13–16, xxviii : 1–19 ; Psalms lxxii, c ; Isaiah xi : 10 ; Dan. vii : 13, 14 ; Matt. v : 43–47, vi : 10, vii : 12, xv : 1–6, xviii : 21, 22, xix : 16–24 ; xx : 20–28, xxi : 5, xxii : 15–22. (This passage, often quoted by those who would have Christians avoid politics, is a distinct command to Christians to perform their political as well as devotional duties. We are to render to government the duties due to government and to God the duties due to God.) Matt. xxiii : 23, xxv : 31–46 ; Luke x : 25–37. (Who is it that I feel toward as Jews felt toward Samaritans? What class or race? They are the "neighbors" I am here taught to help.) Acts iv : 32, ix : 36–41, x : 9–16, 34, 35, xvii : 26 ; James i : 27, ii : 5–9, 14–17, v : 1–6 ; 1 John iv : 20, 21 ; Rev. xxi : 1–5.—Professor R. T. Ely's book on *Social Aspects of Christianity* is largely made up of sociological expositions of Bible texts. See also Bible Index at close of this book.

17. The skeptic's sneer that the Bible is chiefly about another world is the opposite of truth. "Nearly everything in the words of Christ," says Professor Ely, "applies to the present life."—*Social Aspects of Christianity*, 55.

18. Christ's great word was "the kingdom of God." Of all the words of his that have come down to us this is by far the commonest. One hundred times it occurs in the Gospels.—Professor Henry Drummond, *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1 : 468. The kingdom of heaven is the entire social organism in its ideal perfection. . . Every department of human life—the families, the schools, amusements, art, business, politics, industry, national policies, international relations—will be governed by the Christian law and controlled by Christian influences. When we are bidden to seek first the kingdom of God [Matt. vi : 33] we are bidden to set our hearts on this great consummation ; to keep this always before us as the object of our endeavors ; to be satisfied with nothing less than this. . . When the Son of man cometh shall he find faith on the earth? Verily, he would find on the earth to-day a great multitude of those who bear His name, but who do not believe that the world could be governed by his law.—Rev. Dr. Washington Gladden, *The Church and the Kingdom*, pp. 11–12, 8, 34.

19. Matt. vi : 10.

20. Genesis is found to be the most original literary source for the study of social origins.—Professor Graham Taylor, D. D., *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1 : 411.

21. Rev. xxi.

22. While there is much genuine philanthropy outside of Christianity . . . charity, as we know it, gets its chief religious authority and

incentive from him who gave as the summary of all the law and prophets the coordinate commands to love God and to love our neighbor. —A. G. Warner, *American Charities*, 7. An impartial observer would describe the most distinctive virtue referred to in the New Testament as love, charity, or philanthropy.—Lecky, *History of European Morals*, 2 : 130. When Paul said (1 Cor. xiii), Faith, hope, love, these three ; but the greatest of these is love, it was not love to God, but love to man, to which he referred. Lecky, skeptic though he was, has this to say of the influence of Christ's love to man (*History of European Morals*): "It was reserved for Christianity to present to the world an ideal character that, through all the ages of eighteen centuries, has inspired the hearts of men with an impassioned love ; has shown itself capable of acting on all ages, nations, temperaments, and conditions ; has been not only the highest pattern of virtue, but the strongest incentive to its practise, and has exercised so deep an influence that it may be truly said that the simple record of three short years of active life has done more to regenerate and soften mankind than all the disquisitions of philosophers and all the exhortations of moralists. This has indeed been the well-spring of all that is best and purest in Christian life."

23. I have no evidence in history that a mere man would have exalted man as Christ did . . the most convincing proof of divinity.—Ely, *Social Aspects of Christianity*, 59. Professor Ely calls Christ "the Altruist of altruists."—*Christianity Practically Applied*, 1 : 440.

This minute and scrupulous care for human life and human virtue in the humblest forms, in the slave, the gladiator, the savage, the infant, was indeed wholly foreign to the genius of Paganism. It was produced by the Christian doctrine of the inestimable value of each immortal soul.—W. E. H. Lecky (rationalist), quoted, Brace's *Dangerous Classes of New York*, 13–14.

24. It was from Judea that there arose the most persistent protests against inequality, and the most ardent aspirations after justice that have ever raised humanity out of the actual into the ideal. We feel the effect still. It is thence has come that leaven of revolution that still moves the world.—Émile De Laveleye, *Socialism of To-day*, p. 16. D'Israeli declared that there were only two living powers in Europe, the Church and the Revolution.

The best features of the common law, and especially those which regard the family and social relations ; which compel the parent to support the child, the husband to support the wife ; which make the marriage tie permanent, and forbid polygamy, if not derived from, have at least been improved and strengthened by the prevailing religion and the teachings of its sacred book.—Hon. T. M. Cooley, quoted, *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1 : 175. See Kidd's *Social Evolution*, 168.

25. Only now, when the welfare of nations, rather than of rulers, is becoming the dominant idea, are historians beginning to occupy themselves with the phenomena of social progress. . . The only history that is of practical value is what may be called Descriptive Sociology. . . . materials for a Comparative Sociology and for the subsequent determination of the ultimate laws to which social phenomena conform.—Herbert Spencer, *Sociology*. Human history is the terrestrial laboratory of God. To have here on this ball of earth a kingdom of God made out of the human race is the purpose of God.—President Geo. A. Gates, *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1 : 472.

26. On the social affection of early Christians for each other, see Lecky's *History of European Morals*, 1 : 409 ; also Kidd's *Social Evolution*, 123–24, 149 ; also Ulhorn's *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*. Professor Ely notes that the social significance of the Lord's Supper is fraternity, the invitation being to those who "are in love and charity with their neighbors."

27. It has been aptly said that in this day of class churches we must have "not only an apostle to the Gentiles, but also an apostle to the *genteels*."

28. On sociological merits of the Middle Ages, see Ulhorn's *Mediæval Christian Charities ;* also Kidd's *Social Evolution*, 153 : Warner's *American Charities*, 10, 216 footnote ; Lecky's *History of European Morals*, 2 : 95. See also Guizot's *History of Civilization*. Had not the Christian Church existed when the Roman Empire went to pieces, Europe, destitute of any bond of association, might have fallen into a condition not much above that of the North American Indians, or only received civilization with an Asiatic impress from the conquering similars of the invading hordes [of Mohammedans]. . . Though Christianity became distorted and alloyed . . . though pagan ideas [were taken] into her creed ; yet her essential idea of the equality of men was never wholly destroyed.—Henry George, *Progress and Poverty*, 366, 374. The glory of the medieval Church is the resistance which it offered to tyranny of every kind. The typical bishop of those times is always upholding a righteous cause against kings and emperors, or exhorting masters to let their slaves go free, or giving sanctuary to harassed fugitives.—Fitzjames Stephen, quoted in Gladden's *Working People and their Employers*, 32.

29. See Lecture V.; also in Appendix, Part II., *Chronological Data of Progress and Readings*, arranged by centuries.

30. On Roman justice, see Kidd's *Social Evolution*, 135f.

31. *Heauton :* Act 3, Sc. v.

32. See chapter on "The Condition of Neglected Children before Christianity," in *The Dangerous Classes of New York*, by Charles Loring Brace. Also similar facts in his *Gesta Christi*, and in Lecky's *History of European Morals*, vol. 2, ch. iv.

33. See on defects of Plato's *Republic*, free love, slavery, etc., Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, *Philanthropy of God*, 20–21 ; Behrends' *Socialism and Christianity*, 11. Those sayings of Epictetus, "Nothing is more becoming to him who governs than to despise no man . . . but to preside over all with equal care," and "It is wicked to withdraw from being useful to the needy, and cowardly to give way to the worthless," are worthy of praise, considering their age, but did not mean, when first spoken, all they suggest to Christian ears to-day. The English word *good* has no precise Greek or Latin equivalent ; it is a higher term, invested with a distinguishing spiritual capacity in expression.—Dr. D. H. Wheeler, *Chautauquan*, 20 : 523.

34. Benjamin Kidd (*Social Evolution*, 134), concurring with George Henry Lewes, says : "Morality never, among the Greeks, embraced any conception of humanity." "The Christian religion," says Professor Sidgwick, in his *History of Ethics*, "identified piety with pity." See also Ely's *Social Aspects of Christianity*, 56–62.

35. The political history of the centuries so far may be summed up in a single sentence : It is the story of the political and social enfran-

chisement of the masses of the people.—Benjamin Kidd, *Social Evolution*, 139.

36. The history of Western civilization is simply the natural history of the Christian religion.—Benjamin Kidd, *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1895.

37. The Reformation was only a partial success, because there was not enough love in it.—Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, *Philanthropy of God*, 24. Bunyan's *Pilgrim* had only one thought. His work by day, his dream by night, was escape. He took little part in the things of the world through which he passed.—Professor Henry Drummond, *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1 : 467.

38. It may be noticed how much farther the development of the humanitarian feelings has progressed in those parts of our civilization most affected by the movement of the sixteenth century, and more particularly among Anglo-Saxon peoples. That great wave of altruistic feeling, which caused the crusade against slavery to attain such remarkable development among these peoples, has progressed onward, carrying on its crest the multitude of philanthropic and humanitarian undertakings which are so characteristic a feature of all English-speaking communities, and such little understood movements as anti-vivisection, vegetarianism, the enfranchisement of woman, the prevention of cruelty to animals, and the abolition of the State regulation of vice.—Benjamin Kidd, *Social Evolution*, 299. As to the less altruistic Roman Catholic nations, see 301–3.

39. See Ballot on Reforms in Appendix.

40. At every point . . . increase in temporal good waits . . . upon spiritual advance.—President E. B. Andrews, *Wealth and Moral Laws*, 49. For every advance in religious belief we can point to a corresponding social advance in the history of humanity, while the only result you can show as a consequence of your doctrine of indifference in matters of religion is anarchy.—Joseph Mazzini, *Duties of Man*, 25. See Eighteenth Century data in Appendix.

41. See Mackenzie's *History of the Nineteenth Century;* also Nineteenth Century data in Appendix.

42. In Russia alone the open impurity of medieval courts yet survives. The mistress of the Czar, said the *Union Signal* in 1895, is a recognized official of the court, whose income is met from the revenues of the state, whose appearance at the theater is recognized by a rising audience, and whose photograph is displayed in the shop windows of St. Petersburg beside that of the imperial family. This record, duplicated in every court of Europe in the eighteenth century, by its loneliness to-day marks the progress of other European nations, who should shame the Czar into the nineteenth century.

43. For statistics of divorce, see Lecture II ; for those of crime, Lecture V ; or see "Divorce" and "Crime" in alphabetical index at close of this book. The consumption of intoxicating liquors in the United States has increased from 3 22 gallons per capita in 1860 to 18.04 gallons per capita in 1893.—*The Voice*, November 8, 1894. Same paper, August 16, 1894, gave per capita increase from 1878 to 1893 as 2.2. The period named in the lecture, 1867 to 1895, would be between the two preceding figures, about as given. Another black three might be added, as the prohibitory States are only about one-third as many as in the previous third of the century—instead of fifteen, only Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Kansas, and North Dakota. The enemies of

prohibition in 1894 enacted a sort of anarchistic hotch-potch in Iowa, which retained the prohibitory law, but made a certain number of petitioners for a saloon "a bar to prosecution." In South Dakota, anti-prohibitionists, in 1895, secured resubmission, and the law will be lost unless the people vote more wisely on the direct issue than in selecting the legislature. In North Dakota, resubmission passed the so-called "upper house" in 1895, but failed in the other branch. It failed also at about the same time in Kansas, Maine, and New Hampshire, but it was a bad omen that enemies of prohibition were able to bring the question to a vote. In the same year a bill to provide adequate penalties for violations of the prohibitory law failed even in Maine. In Massachusetts, Ohio, and Minnesota the liquor question was at the front, in the form of local option, with little if any gain for temperance in the total result. Indiana was almost the only State in which temperance people secured favorable legislation that year.

44. The religious people of Christ's time did nothing with their religion except to attend to its observances. Even the priest, after he had been to the temple, thought his work was done. When he met the wounded man he passed by on the other side.—Professor Henry Drummond, *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1 : 467. Rev. Charles F. Dole, in *City Government and the Churches*, Pamphlet No. 2, National Municipal League (514 Walnut Street, Philadelphia), raises the question, "How far are the people in the churches Christians?" He notes that at first the energies of Christianity were absorbed in making men humane ; then in making them personally honest and truthful and pure ; but he urges that now Christianity should advance to the work of making its votaries Christians, socially, in business and politics.—Christians have not loved their neighbors. They have hired somebody else to love them. They have left it to the women. . . Sociology has rightly been said to be one-half of religion ; theology is the other half. . . If, then, ministers instruct their hearers about the nature of God, should they not instruct them equally about the nature of society.—Professor J. R. Commons, *Social Reform and the Church*, 12, 19, 20. I should say that half of the time of a theological student should be devoted [as half the commandments in Christ's summary] to social science [love to man]. . . . Let the reader take any hymn-book . . . and seek for the hymns expressive of burning, all-consuming altruism.—Ely, *Social Aspects of Christianity*, 17, 27.

It has taken the Christian Church centuries even to approximate the position of Christ with reference to the social nature of religion. . . We may still go into many a prayer meeting and listen to prayer after prayer, and address after address, and hear not one word which would indicate that the speaker recognized the existence of anyone else in all the universe outside of himself and Almighty God.—Professor R. T. Ely, *Socialism*, etc., 232. With us, when a church finds itself in a difficult neighborhood, it skips. In the first ages of the Church the Christians used to run after the heathen ; now they run away from them. . . Speaking now for my own town only [New York], there is nothing in any large way that deserves to be called contact between our churched sanctification and our unhoused depravity. The leaven is in the attic and the meal down cellar. The meal remains meal, and the desiccated yeast cakes coddle each other. . . The pothouse politician cares more for his [the immigrant's] vote than the Church cares either

for his vote or his soul. . . There are no "masses" to the man who is running for alderman. . . Man has got to meet man.—Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, in *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1 : 431, 432. The Church . . . will soon do immeasurably more than it is now doing [for social welfare], or there may be nothing left for it to do but get out of the way of the kingdom of God.—President Geo. A. Gates, *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1 : 481. If it was ever possible to set forth a full Gospel without canvassing rights and wrongs connected with wealth, poverty, legislation, and social order, it is so no longer.—President E. B. Andrews, *Wealth and Moral Law*, 9.

45. The Church, in her official utterances to men as to what she deems most precious [including examinations of ministers and members], lays vastly more emphasis upon theology than upon Christianity. . . Upon such immensely important matters as the wrong of stock gambling, the legitimacy of trusts, and the various griefs of the laboring masses, matters all highly vital in a moral point of view, and now interesting all the serious thinkers of Christendom—upon these only the Pope, among the ecclesiastical authorities of our time, has said one official word. . . Not to mention details, I would lay it down that every church should concern itself with all the charitable, educational, and reformatory work of every kind required in its community. It need not necessarily remove from public authority any such service that is well performed, but it should see that all are well performed. . . I am forced sometimes to fear that the Almighty may have in store a sweeping change in the agent of his saving work among men. To every body now called a church he may be preparing to say : "Weighed and found wanting ; the Lord hath done with you." The wonderful spread of the Salvation Army is some hint of this.—President E. B. Andrews, *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1 : 346, 347, 348, 349.

46. The resolutions of the various denominations on temperance (which are fairly represented by the Presbyterian resolution below) may be found in *The Pathfinder* (send stamps), issued by Rev. A. J. Kynett, D. D., of Philadelphia, who is at the head of an excellent movement to organize church temperance clubs on a non-partisan prohibition basis in all denominations. The denominational temperance resolutions may also be found in the *Hand-book of Prohibition Facts* (Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York, 25 cents). The Presbyterian Temperance Committee issues the declarations on temperance of that denomination in a leaflet freely circulated. They also supply a *Pledge-book* for each Presbyterian church that will use it, and an ornamental "Family Pledge" for the wall of each home. The National Temperance Society, 58 Reade Street, New York, and the N. W. C. T. U., The Temple, Chicago, have yet larger supplies of temperance ammunition. The author has condensed the most important facts and arguments bearing on temperance, for busy men, in briefest form in *The Temperance Century* (Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York, 75 cents; 35 cents).

47. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in 1892, and again in 1894, declared : "No political party has the right to expect the support of Christian men so long as that party stands committed to the license policy, or refuses to put itself on record against the saloon." A resolution of the Methodist General Conference in 1892, and another of the United Presbyterian General Assembly in the same year, are of precisely the same purport. Many other ecclesiastical bodies have taken

like action. Prohibition is the practically unanimous platform of Protestant churches, and the Roman Catholic Church is moving rapidly in that direction. So much for church utterances, on which Mr. John G. Woolley says: "The Church roars like a lion in general conference, but squeaks like a mouse at the general election. . . Election day is the cross-examination of the prayer meeting."—Address in Chickering Hall, New York, December 15, 1894. And General Neal Dow says: "The liquor traffic exists in this country to-day only by the sufferance of the membership of the Christian churches. They are masters of the situation so far as abolition of the traffic is concerned. When they say *go*, and vote *go*, it *will* go." In this connection should be read, not in wrath, but in solemn search for truth, Mr. E. J. Wheeler's *Voice* editorials on "The Ungodly League of Church and Saloon," now issued in a prohibition leaflet, at five cents, by Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York. Let the following suggestion, published recently in the *Northern Christian Advocate*, be also pondered: "A practical way to gain unanimity of action, and start a Christian Temperance League upon a permanent and hopeful basis, would be for the temperance committees of all the denominations which have spoken strongly against the saloon to meet and draw up a plan of organization; then set apart a temperance day for all the churches of America belonging to these denominations, and on that day have a league organized in every church. This unanimity would give prestige and enthusiasm to the movement. A regular program for the day should be published, that each church might thoroughly understand the extent and purpose of the work."

48. We tremble for the consequences when this great denomination learns, from a recent decision of the United States Supreme Court on the Indian Territory liquor law, that the term "spirituous liquors" does not include beer. It is appropriate to note here, as an illustration of the fact that doctrine receives more emphasis than ethics, that the Episcopal bishops of the United States, early in 1895, issued a pastoral letter of admonition to rectors holding loose views of the incarnation and of inspiration, but had no word to say to those rectors who had advocated Sunday saloons, church saloons, and the "districting of the social evil." The anti-secrecy denominations, whose membership, Protestant and Catholic, is a larger host than is commonly supposed, have reason to congratulate themselves on a growing list of eminent men who are coming over to their views, on grounds of public policy, such as Joseph Mazzini expressed as follows in *Duties to Man* (106–107): "Secret associations—which are a legitimate weapon of defense where there exists neither liberty nor nation—are illegal, and ought to be dissolved, wherever liberty and the inviolability of thought are rights recognized and protected by the country." But these anti-secrecy denominations will do well to consider whether their creed should not make abstinence from intoxicating drinks as essential to church membership as abstinence from secrecy. The following statement of *The Voice*, based on a symposium of information as to communion wine, will be found suggestive: "The Methodists, Disciples, and the Universalists are opposed to the use of *fermented wine at communion;* the Episcopalians and some of the German Lutheran Synods are avowedly in favor of fermented wine; the Baptists, Reformed Churchmen, United Brethren, Salvationists, Reformed Episcopalians, Congregationalists, Unitarians, Catholics, and Jews have made no official declaration on the subject, permitting either

kind to be used. The Baptists, United Brethren, Salvationists, Reformed Episcopalians, and Congregationalists, according to the above testimony, generally use unfermented wine. The Presbyterians generally use fermented wine. The Jews use both. The Quakers do not administer the rite of communion."

49. Professor J. R. Commons suggests that as the "monthly concert" has kindled a great interest in foreign missions, so a monthly prayer and conference meeting devoted to social questions (see note 13 on sociological year) would soon save the Church from the reproach of neglecting this field at its doors. The writer has tried the plan successfully. The call for such meetings comes from the foreign missions themselves, for one of the most powerful causes of the recent reaction against Christian missions in Japan, and a great obstacle to missionary work elsewhere, is the horrible evidence published to the world that Christianity does not Christianize, in the revelations of corruption in New York and Washington and elsewhere, which united social action by the churches might long ago have cured.

50. See Professor J. R. Commons, *The Church and Social Reform*, 43–44. Rev. Dr. A. J. Gordon, of blessed memory, a pastor who did not relegate reform to the rear, warned the Church not to be "out-moraled by the moralist and out-humaned by the humanitarian." Whether charities are identified with any particular denomination or not, it is usually, though of course not uniformly, the people of the churches that support them.—Professor A. G. Warner, *American Charities*, 316. I do not affirm that all church-goers are philanthropists, but that most philanthropists are church-goers.—Dr. Washington Gladden, *The Young Men and the Churches*, 44.

51. It is said that during his [Charles Loring Brace] life he was able to touch and improve three hundred thousand lives.—Professor R. T. Ely, *Socialism*, etc., 260.

52. A realistic story of what a federation of churches for philanthropic work might do is Dr. Washington Gladden's *Christian League of Connecticut* (Century Co.). See description of work done by local federations of churches in Europe under the name of "Inner Mission" (in contrast to foreign missions) in *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1 : 379 f.

53. President E. B. Andrews characterizes the divisons of the churches as "flagitious anarchy."

54. Professor Ely enumerates (*Social Aspects of Christianity*, 74 ff) as matters which the Church should take up : (1) child labor ; (2) woman's work to the neglect of the family ; (3) Sunday labor ; (4) public playgrounds; (5) removal of children from neglectful parents ; (6) public corruption ; (7) Saturday half-holidays ; (8) a juster distribution of wealth ; (9) a manly contest against wilful optimism. The W. C. T. U., with its forty departments of work, and the King's Daughters, with their manifold charities, are foregleams of the future Church ; but let us hope the picture will be changed so far that men will not then leave all the work to the women. One method of union reform work for the churches is suggested by the quondam Lenten noon Bible lectures of Phillips Brooks in Trinity Church, at the head of Wall Street, which was crowded to the doors with business men. In the same place Missioner Aitken of England, a few years ago, had similar audiences. These noon meetings and the equally thronged ones of Dr. R. R. Meredith

and Dr. Joseph Cook in Boston, and those of Dr. Pentecost for several months together in Glasgow, suggest as a new method in city missions the establishment of half-hour noon lectures on social reforms in the busy centers of our great cities all over the country, not for once a week or one week in a year, but for every day. Very many who never attend a noon prayer meeting would thus receive a practical application of the Bible principles to business life in the very heart of each business day. Such a lectureship should be endowed as are the preacherships of Harvard and Cornell.

55. See letter by Cardinal Gibbons to the author (*Civil Sabbath*, 129), expressing cooperation with the movement to stop Sunday trains, Sunday mails, etc. It was as the result of later correspondence that the Catholic Lay Congress passed a resolution favoring cooperation with non-Catholics in Sabbath reform. The author remembers also the temperance centennial in 1885 in Philadelphia, where the president of the local Catholic Total Abstinence Society presided and introduced representatives of a score of churches, each to report the temperance work of his denomination. As a sample of the rapidly multiplying instances of recent Roman Catholic cooperation in reform we subjoin a sample of the speeches at a meeting of their clergy in New York City in February, 1895, which unanimously opposed the proposal to legalize Sunday saloons.

Father McSweeny spoke of the European Sunday and American Sunday, and said Europe would be vastly better off if it could have our Sunday. "When the founders of this government came here, they came for liberty, not for license. They didn't come here to found a new Germany or a new Italy or a new France. We who came after them had heard of George Washington and Jefferson and Hancock, and we wanted to share in the government they had helped to found. We had originally a quiet Sunday the country over. The people answered the ringing of the church bells, and we thanked God for the American Sunday. And now we do not want any foreigners to attempt to break up that Sunday and its observances. We don't want their summer gardens and their lager beer on Sunday. If they can't do without them, let them go back where they came from. Now I would impose a very simple obligation on the saloon keepers. I would insist that they take down their blinds, so that everybody can see what is going on inside. If, then, the policemen cannot see if the law is being violated, send them to an oculist. Now, Mr. Strong, try that, if you please, and save us our Sunday." Write any pastor or priest of Bay City, Mich., for report of "The Christian Union" there formed by Protestants and Roman Catholics.—*Independent*, February 14, 1895.

56. Author's "Plan of Work" for such a federation may be found in *Our Day*, November, 1894; also in a free leaflet of *National Bureau of Reforms*, Washington, D. C. This plan shows how Endeavorers may be organized for a house to house canvass in the interest of reform and religion combined, such a canvass as Dr. Josiah Strong advocates, but broadened in scope.

57. In Waterbury, Conn., the churches officially organized the Charity Organization of the city. See *Christianity Practically Applied*, 2: 235 f. Except in the largest cities, all humane work, anti-cruelty and anti-poverty movements alike, can best be combined in one "Humane Society," as at Mansfield, O., the constitution of whose society is a good pattern.

58. Professor Amos G. Warner has shown, in his standard work on

American Charities (p. 8), that medieval charity [it is not yet wholly extinct] had less regard for the recipient than for the giver, to whom it was partly a purgatorial "fire insurance," as to-day some of the giving of millionaires, alarmed at the unrest of the poor, is "cyclone insurance." On mistakes of medieval charity, see also Lecky's *History of European Morals*, 2 : 93. Rev. Dr. A. J. F. Behrends names as the historical causes of pauperism : "the pagan degradation of labor, the medieval canonization of poverty, the frequent and destructive wars of modern Europe, and the mischievous, though well-meaning, public policy of England in dealing with the poor."—*Socialism and Christianity*, 224. See also 182 ff.

59. One bane of church charity is its indiscriminate, emotional, unreasoning, unscientific almsgiving. Its benevolence is often maleficent, rather than beneficent. . . The most hopeful church charities are educational. Alms seldom afford permanent relief, but one who knows how to live can take care of himself. Kindergartens, kitchen gardens, day nurseries, physical culture classes, saving schools, mothers' meetings (without bribes), penny-saving schemes, cheerful entertainments which instruct, musical and other artistic pleasures, friendly visits in homes on a basis of genuine fellowship, are some of the ways in which the churches may best work for the uplifting of the poor.—Professor C. R. Henderson, *Dependents, Defectives, Delinquents*, 29, 61.

One of the wisest writers on scientific charity is Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell of New York City, who has devoted talents that might have made her a leader of "society," in the narrow sense of the word, to society in the larger, sociological sense, preferring philanthropy to fashion. See her book *Public Relief and Private Charity*, Putnam's, 40 cents: also articles in *Lend a Hand*, 3 : 81 ; *Chautauquan*, 9 : 80. In an article contributed by her to the author's *Associated Press of Reforms*, she says : "Indiscriminate relief, that is, relief without any object beyond and above that of remedying physical suffering, has been found always and everywhere not even to relieve the physical suffering it is especially aimed at, while it creates much that but for it would never have existed. What do these contradictions mean? What except that the moral part of us, being the important, in fact the real part of us, if allowed to perish, drags down with it the accessory physical portion ; while, on the contrary, if the moral part is lifted, all the nature and all the physical surroundings are raised with it? The soul is more important than the life ; a man's character is what makes him a man ; and when, to save his life, his soul is degraded ; when, to keep him alive, his character is destroyed, his life becomes useless, and he had better be dead."—Let me cultivate, first, a strong self-regard ; let me gain some clear understanding of what my manhood is worth to me ; then let me remember that the manhood of the man who asks for alms is worth just as much as mine, and let me love him as I love myself.—Rev. Dr. Washington Gladden, *The Church and the Kingdom*, p. 72.

60. Waterbury, Conn. (see foregoing note), is the only exception of which the author is informed. If there are other cases where the churches as such have officially centralized the charities of any city, he would like to know it.

61. The United Charities Building in New York City is a model for other cities, but is the thought and gift of individual Christian benevolence, not of the churches.

62. There is reason to believe there are a great many pet paupers connected with our churches.—Ely, *Social Aspects of Christianity*, 106.

63. Write Rev. J. B. Devens, president, for particulars.

64. That the blundering charity of the Church needs study and improvement has been abundantly shown. Instances are given by the Charity Organization Society of New York of persons belonging to four, to five Episcopal parishes, to twelve Baptist churches, by way of connecting with their poor funds. Bishop Potter tells a good story of one of these repeaters—the overheard cry, "Run, mother, run; here come the Sisters of Charity, and the baby has got the Protestant linen on." See *Charities*, in Alphabetical Index, for references to various aspects of the subject in this book and to the literature of the subject and other sources of information. The National Bureau of Reforms, Washington, D. C., will also aid by correspondence. Warner's *American Charities*, (T. Y. Crowell & Co., Boston, $1.75,) boards or associations of deacons should not read, but STUDY rather, chapter by chapter. Such boards should also study the unexcelled reports of the New York Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor, and the *Handbook for Friendly Visitors Among the Poor*, compiled by New York Charity Organization Society. Its motto is that "Charity must do five things: 1. Act only upon knowledge got through thorough investigation. 2. Relieve worthy need promptly, fittingly, tenderly. 3. Prevent unwise alms to the unworthy. 4. Raise into independence every needy person, where this is possible. 5. Make sure that no children grow up to be paupers." These are the doctrinal "five points" of the "new charity." See, on same, *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1: 241. Reports gathered by the New York Charity Organization Society, from fifty-three similar societies, showed that all considered the "friendly visitor" their most important agency, but also the most difficult to secure and manage. On the average it took three churches to supply one woman and eleven to supply one man willing and capable to go as a visitor among the poor.—On the work of deaconesses and nurses, see *Christianity Practically Applied*, 70 f, 363 f.

65. On my suggesting this scene at the Beautiful Gate as a seal for the New York Charity Organization Society to its secretary, Mr. Charles D. Kellogg, he replied that it exactly represented the "new charity," and would have been used as the seal but for the fact that the Jews are among the most generous supporters of charity. (Warner's *American Charities* declares that they even excel Christians in the administration of charity.)

66. Dr. Behrends shows that more benefit to the poor has come from model tenements paying six per cent. dividends to the investor than from those rented so low as only to pay running expenses.—*Socialism and Christianity*, p. 211.

67. Among the new appliances of scientific charity is the municipal lodging house, where even tramps may find a bed and food, instead of lying on the floor of a station-house, having first passed the "work test" and "bath test." These places act upon the law, "If a man will not work neither shall he eat." And having made work the necessary prelude to supper, a bath is made the equally necessary prelude to a bed. And while they sleep the multitudinous occupants of their clothes die by cremation in the hot clothes closet. The work and bath test eliminate the confirmed tramp and leave those worthy of aid. It is better that

these wayfarers' lodging-houses should be owned and controlled by the State than by private charity, but the latter should provide them when the former does not. The Helping Hand Institute of Kansas City offers to those who wish to help the needy a means of doing so economically and without putting a premium on idleness, by means of checks which can be given to those who ask for help. Each of the checks (which are sold at the rate of twenty for one dollar and are signed by those who give them away) "entitles the bearer to sufficient employment, under the direction of the Helping Hand Institute, to earn three meals, one night's lodging, shave, hair-cut, bath, library, medicine, and medical service."

68. Professor J. J. McCook, in his special studies of tramps, sent inquiries to thirty-five chiefs of police. Of these 20 replied that no conditions of person—as cleanliness, etc.—were insisted on as conditions of public lodging in station houses or elsewhere, and 22 that they had no work test; 22 put the proportion of able-bodied lodgers as high as ninety per cent. or higher; only 3 as low as fifty; 11 thought compulsory work the best solution of the tramp problem. Most of the others advocated some form of punishment. The remedy suggested by Professor McCook himself is as follows: "I should recommend uniform laws in all the States, committing drunkards and vagrants to places of detention where they must abstain from drink, must work, must keep clean, must avoid licentiousness—and that for an indefinite period. They might be made to nearly or quite support themselves in such establishments. And in that event we should save ten millions or so a year. And then there would be the chance of reforming them, of which there is now almost none whatever. . . The person who will give any beggar a coin just because it seems too hard to refuse him, ought on similar grounds to give razors and guns to madmen and children."—*Charities Review*, 3: 69. See another article by Professor McCook in *Charities Review*, January, 1894, reprinted from *The Forum*, August, 1893. The so-called "good nature" that gives to unknown beggars is really very *bad* nature, as Dr. H. L. Wayland has well said.—*Christianity Practically Applied*, 1: 450.

69. Outdoor relief, the provision of groceries and fuel in their own homes, to all who might ask for aid, grew in Brooklyn in twenty years to such an extent that in 1870 one-tenth of the people were thus aided. Investigation of this evil led to its abolition in 1878. Professor A. E. Warner (*American Charities*, 305, 322) suggests that only large charities which can be reduced to routine are appropriate for State management (outdoor relief lacks routine); and that "private charities are especially useful along lines of philanthropic experimentation."

70. What Horace Greeley called "the most awful lesson that there is an easier way to obtain a dollar than to earn it."

71. The fact that in cities where a large proportion of the people profess Christianity it is so difficult to find the comparatively few friendly visitors needed is a sad commentary upon the kind of Christianity taught in our churches.—Ely, *Socialism*, etc., 341. The Master says, "Follow me and I will make you fishers of men," and in effect we answer, "Not so, Lord: I will send lines and hooks and bait, and my proxy shall fish." Christianity in the United States is so far aloof from the real life of the wretched that they are not understood.—Charles D. Kellogg, Secretary New York Charity Organization Society, in *Christianity Practically*

Applied, 1 : 377. (The same writer in the same article, p. 378, quotes: "Love worketh no ill to his neighbor," to prove that the careless charity which pauperizes the poor is not true neighborly love.) See a very helpful article on "The Friendly Visitor's Opportunity," by Mr. Alfred T. White, president Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, in *Charities Review*, 2 : 323. The "friendly rent collector" is a friendly visitor specialized and sometimes salaried, nominated by a charitable organization or college settlement and accepted by such landlords as will to collect their rents in a friendly way with special reference to adjusting difficulties. They often prevent the loss that would have come both to tenant and landlord from a needless moving by a little friendly diplomacy. At Shelton, Conn., a Miss Adams of New York City was in 1894 given entire charge of a block of forty tenements, formerly used for mill operatives, which had been overcrowded and unsanitary. She was to renovate it, rent its tenements at rates the poorest families in the village could afford, and constrain the new tenants to observe sanitary rules and maintain a fair standard of cleanliness.

72. Give for alms the things that are within.—Luke xi : 41.

73. Send five cents to *The Congregationalist*, Boston, for its booklet on *Forward Movements*, concisely describing the most successful institutional churches of all denominations, whose work can be further studied by sending to each for its reports. See, also, *Addresses on Institutional Churches*, by Drs. Conwell and Dickenson, and others, in *Christianity Practically Applied*, 2 : 350 ff. As to spiritual results, *The Berkeley Beacon*, November, 1894, says : "Comparing the institutional churches of the Congregational denomination with the remaining Congregational churches, we find that the number of additions on confessions of faith last year averaged six times as large in the former as in the latter ; and, notwithstanding the fact that institutional churches are generally located in the most discouraging districts, where churches on the old lines of work have died or been compelled to move away, the number of additions on confession of faith as compared with membership were last year thirty-three per cent. larger in the institutional churches than in the other churches of the denomination, indicating that the recognition of the whole man increases the spiritual life, instead of decreasing it, as some have feared."

74. The International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, New York City, January 18, 1895. Dear Dr. Crafts : In reply to your card regarding amusements allowed in connection with the Young Men's Christian Associations, I would say that there is no iron-clad rule, but the associations are usually governed by the advisory utterances of the convention and the consensus of local opinion. Chess, checkers, crokonole, parlor croquet, and kindred games are in general use in the recreation rooms. Dominoes are especially popular in the railroad associations. Bowling alleys are found in most of the later buildings. Basket ball, a product of the Springfield Training School, is becoming very popular as a recreation in the gymnasium. The game of billiards has been suggested and possibly used in one or two places, but the general feeling is strongly averse to its introduction. Out of doors all the ordinary athletic games are in use, such as baseball, football, la crosse, with running, jumping, vaulting, throwing the hammer, etc.; also boating, swimming, cycling, etc., etc. I would say again that the general sentiment of the members of the evangelical churches in any

community largely govern the association in regard to the question of amusements. In some localities no games whatever are permitted, but there is a growing liberality in regard to the matter, so that the ordinary so-called "harmless games" are in very common use. Yours truly, H. S. Ninde.

75. The representatives of religion are beginning to understand that a chief cause of their inability to "reach the masses" is because they have sought to do the reaching too much by talk and too little by hand.—Hon. H. R. Waite, *Journal of Politics*, December, 1894. The following poem seems especially pertinent to the institutional church movement:

"The parish priest
Of Austerlitz
Climbed up a high church steeple
To be near God,
So that he might hand
His word down to his people.

"And in sermon script
He daily wrote
What he thought was sent from heaven,
And he dropped this down
On his people's heads
Two times one day in seven.

"In his rage God said:
'Come down and die!'
And he cried out from the steeple,
'Where art thou, Lord?'
And the Lord replied,
'Down here among my people.'"

76. Professor S. H. Woodbridge, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, fought the bill through in 1895, in the second session of that Congress, with little aid from the churches as such, which should now hasten to aid in the yet more difficult work of enforcing the law against the express and telegraph companies and banks. The law provides "That any person who shall cause to be brought within the United States from abroad, for the purpose of disposing of the same, or deposited in or carried by the mails of the United States, or carried from one State to another in the United States, any paper, certificate, or instrument purporting to be or represent a ticket, chance, share, or interest in or dependent upon the event of a lottery, so called gift concert, or similar enterprise, offering prizes dependent upon lot or chance, or shall cause any advertisement of such lottery, so-called gift concert, or similar enterprise, offering prizes dependent upon lot or chance, to be brought into the United States, or deposited in or carried by the mails of the United States, or transferred from one State to another in the same, shall be punishable in the first offense by imprisonment for not more than two years or by a fine of not more than one thousand dollars, or both, and in the second and after offenses by such imprisonment only."

77. See statement of purposes, officers, etc., in closing pages of this book.

78. A joint committee of eight Presbyterian and Reformed denominations, in 1894, adopted a plan of delegated federation (since submitted to Presbyteries, but not sufficiently approved at this writing, June 30, 1895) of which the following article expresses the purpose: "The Federal

Council shall promote the cooperation of the federated denominations in their home and foreign missionary work, and shall keep watch on current religious, moral, and social movements, and take such action as may concentrate the influence of all the churches in the maintenance of the truth that our nation is a Protestant Christian nation, and of all that is therein involved." The failure of the churches involved to approve this plan seems to indicate not only a lamentable failure to appreciate the injury wrought by sectarian competition, but also and especially a failure to apprehend the social duties which the Church can discharge only by federation.

79. See fuller particulars in Appendix, Part Second, at close of Chronological Data of Progress.

80. The current estimate of reformers that there are now in this country 5,000,000 Christian voters, 4,000,000 of them Protestant, proves to be an understatement. See Rev. Dr. W. H. Roberts' table of Christian voters, showing that the number was, in 1890, 6,500,000, of which 4,500,000 were Protestant. The Christian vote, largest of all the "blocks" of votes in number, is least of all in influence, because the churches fail to appreciate the divine call to unite and save society. The five millions of Christian votes in the United States and the corresponding number in Great Britain, with reenforcements of pen and prayer, could, if united, overthrow the following evils straightway :

1. The liquor traffic in Africa and among savages elsewhere.
2. The liquor traffic in Anglo-Saxon lands.
3. The opium curse, promoted by Great Britain.
4. The slave trade in Africa and the Kanaka slavery of the South Seas, permitted by Great Britain and Australia.
5. The tolerated lust traffic of the British army and of British and American cities.
6. The sometimes legalized, generally tolerated, race-track gambling of England and the United States.
7. The Louisiana lottery, which has been twice outlawed but waits on the law's enforcement.
8. The shameful divorce laws of North Dakota and Oklahoma, where divorces are offered on three months' residence, to attract divorce colonies, an evil which, in the case of Oklahoma, Congress could and should correct.
9. The unspeakable law of Delaware making the law of consent seven years, and the laws of other States which fix the age below eighteen.
10. The law-defying Sunday papers, which could not live if the Church unitedly resisted and resented their defiance of divine and human and humane laws.
11. The Sunday trains, in stopping which the Sunday papers and Sunday mails would also be stopped.
12. The Sunday saloons, which in most of our cities defy the laws by the consent of officers elected by Christian votes.
13. The foul theater posters, which could be swept from the billboards, where they corrupt the youth, by enforcing the purity law on the one bill poster of each city.
14. The daily sewers, called newspapers, that pour filth into every home, planting every evil seed which the churches are seeking to weed out, while Christians individually and as churches neglect to establish newspapers that will help and not hinder their work.

15. The city rings, consisting of corrupt politicians, gamblers, harlots, and liquor sellers, who control nearly all our cities only because the churches do not unite against them the forces of righteousness.

81. We are not merely to medicate and dress an ever open sore of pauperism and insanity and idiocy and crime, but to *cure* it.—Professor C. R. Henderson, *Dependents, Defectives, Delinquents*, 270.

LECTURE II.

1. It is claimed that the institution which Anglo-Saxons have in mind when they use the word home originated with the Puritans.

Dr. Joseph Cook says: "Mrs. Browning's *Portuguese Sonnets* and Robert Browning's *Prospice* are the noblest expressions of Christian ideals concerning marriage that literature, ancient or modern, contains." —*Our Day*, 1894, 349.

2. This exaggerated importance assigned to theft is usual in the legislation of barbarians.—Professor C. R. Henderson, *Dependents, Defectives, Delinquents*, 166. At present the aim seems to be to protect property rather than person.—Ely, *Socialism*, etc., 336. "The age of consent" for girls as to their property is eighteen ("majority") in all States, but as to the person it is lower in most of the States.—See Purity note, in Appendix, Part Second.

3. Economics may be defined as the science of those social phenomena to which the wealth-getting and wealth-using activity of man gives rise. —Ely, *Outlines of Economics*, 82.

4. See chapter on "Oriental Idea of Father," in Trumbull's *Studies in Oriental Life*.

5. The immorality of mining and lumber and military camps is similarly explained; also some of the worst evils of immigration. Mr. Arnold White, in *Charities Review*, 3: 77, says: "Since the home is the unit of the nation, celibate immigration should be discouraged by adequate restrictive means. . . Any nationality should be carefully watched when the female immigrants fall below thirty-five per cent. of the whole. On this basis Russia, Italy, and Hungary furnish unsatisfactory records." On this basis Mr. White justifies Chinese exclusion, and so would I if the exclusion was on this basis and applied with American impartiality to Europe and Asia.

6. He who does not study the humor of the day misses many a serious and important truth: for instance, in the case of the philanthropic lady who asked a frowzy child in the street, "Where is your home?" "Haint got no home." "Poor thing, what do you do?" "I *board*." The answer gave no occasion for canceling her pity.

7. *National Divorce Reform League Leaflet*, No. 11, p. 4.

8. See my article in the *New Englander*, September, 1882, on "Liberty of Man, Woman, and Child in Unchristian Lands."

9. Religions were necessarily studied at the Parliament on the basis said to have been adopted by an indulgent mother, who ordered that her child should be taught history "with all the painful parts left out." I am sorry that it is not consistent with my duty to discuss my present subject on that plan.

10. The Hindu who will not allow a doctor to see his wife's tongue and feel her pulse except by cutting holes through the curtain behind which she is hidden, will send that wife gladly to the libidinous priest whenever he so requests, counting such adultery as divine service by which she is made holy. Mrs. Mary Clement Leavitt, W. C. T. U. Round the World Missionary, so stated in the author's hearing at Monona Lake Assembly. on missionary testimony. As to his daughters, this Hindu will strangle one at birth, train a second for marriage, and consecrate a third to the enrichment of his religion as a temple prostitute, thinking the last act even more meritorious than the marriage, and the first quite as much within his "liberty." The following incident is truth if not fact also, as it well may be. It is reported that a missionary visiting the grounds of a Chinese nobleman, and passing among the venerable trees, shady paths, and beside the beautiful lake, with its bridges, islands, and summer-houses, saw on a large sign, in Chinese characters: "Please don't drown girls here." Rev. Robert A. Hume of India, in the *Missionary Herald* of July, 1894, quotes the following description of the greatest day of one of the greatest Hindu feasts held at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna—the Sadhus referred to being so-called "saints," who live by beggary, considered so "spiritual" by some Christians at a distance as not to need Christ: "Monday was the great day, the special feature being the procession of Sadhus to bathe. Never shall I forget the sight. . . It was estimated that a million of people were present. How can we speak of the disgusting procession? At the head of the procession, about six elephants, then a brass band, then marching two by two and hand in hand, great numbers of these Sadhus, perfectly naked, their bodies and faces smeared with ashes, their voices raised in discordant shouts. They looked more like demons than men. After them were some palanquins, next more Sadhus, who had more or less clothing on, and in the rear the female fakirs."—There are in India twenty-one million widows, half of whom were never wives, many of whom are mere children, who are treated as if guilty of the death of their husbands. So says Joseph Cook in his 194th Monday Lecture. The foregoing facts represent all unchristian lands, ancient and modern, in their treatment of woman. The only religion that does not, by its impurity, assail the divine nobility of the family is Christianity. Great as are the evils of our Christian land in matters pertaining to the family, let us congratulate ourselves that they are at least branded as evils, not treated as legitimate business or meritorious worship.

11. As the Mormons have been conquered but not convinced, Christian education will need to be used with redoubled energy, that the very belief in polygamy may be dislodged from the rising generation, as otherwise the Mormon vote is likely to nullify if not repeal all anti-polygamy legislation.

12. *Fifth Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor on Laws of Marriage and Divorce in the United States and Europe*, to be had free on application to National Bureau of Labor, Washington, D. C. (The documents of the National Divorce Reform League, Dr. S. W. Dike, Auburndale, Secretary, some of them valuable commentaries on the above report, will also be needed by all students of divorce.) The most important figures are as follows: Divorces in 1867, 9937; in 1886, 25,535, an increase of 157 per cent,, while population increased about 60 per cent. Between the census years, 1870–1880, divorces increased

79 per cent., population 30 per cent. In 1870 there was 1 divorce out of every 664 existing married couples ; in 1889, 1 out of every 481. The total divorces for the 20 years, 328,716. Of these 65 per cent. were sought by wives. Eighty per cent. of the marriages were performed in the same State that granted divorce, showing the divorce colonies less prominent factors than supposed. "In over 60 per cent. of the cases there was a notable lack of the influence of children." Twenty-five thousand three hundred and seventy-one couples had lived together 21 years or more, and the average for all couples was 9 years. In the large cities the divorce rate is about 50 per cent. higher than in the remainder of the States. So far as records show about 67 per cent. of divorces asked for were granted. In South Dakota divorces were granted on 90 days' residence. New York is the only State adhering to the one scriptural ground of divorce, but legal separation, without permission to marry again, is granted for other causes.—See *Tribune Almanac* of 1895 for statistics of conjugal conditions, June 1, 1890, as to ages of marriage, etc. D. Convers gives further figures based on the same report. He says : In 1889, one-half of our population were under laws which required for marriage only the interchange of consent—which in Europe is the case only in Scotland.—*Marriage and Divorce*, 20. This book abounds in instances where the courts, in protection of the woman, assumed consent from cohabitation. This loose marriage law, while open to abuses, also prevents abuses by making loose conduct dangerous. Convers says further (pp. 131, 134, 135, 172): Even when the consent of parents is necessary to the legality of a marriage, it is usually held by the courts that it is not necessary to its validity. The wedded pair may be fined in such case, but are not separated. . . A married New Yorker, divorced and forbidden to remarry, crosses the Hudson to Jersey City, there marries, returning at once ; and the court held that marriage to be good in New York. . . New York and Tennessee allow the marriage of uncle and niece and of nephew and aunt. . . Whatever be the reason to explain it, the fact is clear that divorce reform depends more on women than on men. The laws are drawn to favor them ; they chiefly use the courts. It is emphatically a woman's question.—Convers' *Marriage and Divorce*, 172. The same writer shows that if divorce had been restricted to adultery and desertion, it would have prevented more than 134,000 divorces in 20 years preceding 1889.

13. Dr. S. W. Dike in a document on *Divorce Legislation* (Series of 1889, No. 3) thus sums up European laws of marriage and divorce, which should be studied for amendments to our inferior laws : "Generally it may be said that marriage in Europe is now strictly a civil act, though place is made for a religious service, where desired. The improved laws of European countries are generally parts of a carefully prepared scientific whole, some of the later systems, as in Germany and Switzerland, being the work of eminent law professors. The legal age of marriage ; degrees of consanguineous or other relationship ; consent of parents (a much more real thing in Europe than here) ; rules for notice of intention ; provision for verifying the facts alleged, often including certification both of the fact and means of the dissolution of a previous marriage, whether by death or divorce ; strict requirements for publication ; restrictions as to locality within which the marriage must occur ; generally, provisions that ten months or a year, except by special dispensation, must intervene between the dissolution of one

marriage and the contraction of another; express provisions that a person divorced for adultery cannot marry a paramour; the most careful registration (and report to the statistical bureaus) of marriages as well as divorces—these are almost invariable features of European marriage laws. . . Divorce in Europe is very unlike divorce in the United States. There is a but a single divorce court for England and Wales, and in few (if any) European countries do the courts having jurisdiction of divorce correspond to the ordinary county courts of this country. The causes for which divorce may be granted in some countries in Europe are scarcely fewer than those in the United States, even extending to divorce by mutual consent. But the administration is far more carefully controlled than here. Belgium and some other parts of Europe are still governed by the Code Napoleon. But divorce by mutual consent is admissible only where the husband is at least twenty-five years old and the wife twenty-one, and is not allowed after twenty years of marriage life, or when the wife has reached her forty-fifth year. Attempts at reconciliation before divorce is decreed must be made in Holland and some other countries, though of late Prussia seems to have dropped the practice. A special feature of some legislations is judicial separation for a period of years (in Holland for five years), capable of conversion into absolute divorce at the end of the period. There were from six to fourteen of these separations annually in Holland among a number of divorces ranging from two hundred to four hundred. An active public opponent in the interests of the state is a common thing in Europe."

14. Send to him for his speech in advocacy of a national marriage and divorce law.

15. *National Divorce Reform League Report for 1888*, p. 36.

16. Delivered before National Unitarian Conference; published in full in *The Christian Register*, Boston, October 8, 1891; also in *Lend a Hand*, 1891: 283 ff.

17. Convers' *Marriage and Divorce*, gives the Roman Catholic argument against absolute divorce (legal separation is allowed) for any cause, and a valuable collection of facts, especially legal decisions, on the general subject.

18. Correspondence with Mr. Wright as to his address drew from him the following caveat: "When you review the speech on divorce do not make the mistake which some critics have made. I was limited to a certain time for delivery, and practically closed the address in the middle: that is, I did not have the opportunity to show in what respect I believed that divorce temporarily would lead permanently to the doing away of divorce, nor did I have an opportunity to take up the ecclesiastical view of divorce, all of which are essential to a proper understanding of the divorce question. My own views on the subject I find are in accord with those of Judge Sibley, Judge Bennett, and a long line of excellent thinkers back to and including Luther; nor can I convince myself that these views are not in accord with the principles which Christ taught. It seems to me, on studying the question very broadly, that he was referring in what he said on divorce more largely to remarriage, a subject which I do not discuss.

"Thanking you always for your kindness, I am, sincerely yours,

"CARROLL D. WRIGHT, Commissioner."

This led to a request for the unpublished part of the argument, which

is given in full in the Appendix—an argument that would be conclusive against limiting legal separation to one cause, but the author still thinks that absolute divorce is by Christ, and, for the general good, should be limited to "the one Scriptural cause."

19. Matt. xix : 9.

20. *Leaflet of National Divorce Reform League, "Twelve Reasons,"* etc.

21. At the meeting of the National Woman's Council in 1895 the Committee on Divorce declared against any further legislation on divorce, State or national, until women have a voice in making laws—a recommendation favorable neither to woman suffrage nor to divorce.

22. South Dakota in 1895 was generally reported by the careless press as having returned to its scandalous ninety days' bait for divorce colonies, and did almost pass a bill to that effect, for "business reasons," as one of its Congressional delegation informed me, to make up for losses by absconding State Treasurer and hard times. If a State is to traffic in the relations of man and woman, it might as well do it on the Omaha license plan as on the Oklahoma divorce plan. North Dakota is still in the ninety days' ditch and should be shamed out of it, as South Dakota was, by the protests of the friends of the family everywhere. As to Oklahoma's Territorial law, Congress should be asked to veto it.

23. That making divorces difficult decreases them seems to be the meaning of statistics from Canada, where divorces are obtained only from the Dominion Parliament through a committee of its Senate, which grants only 2 or 3 per year in a population of 5,000,000. Contrast the foregoing facts with increase of divorces through relaxed legislation in Australia. See *Christianity Practically Applied*, 2 : 58, 71.

24. In 1870 there were 1,836,288 female wage earners, nearly one-half "domestics." Of the 2,647,157 in 1880 two-thirds were in other occupations. In an address at Chatauqua in 1894, Hon. Carroll D. Wright gave the following statistics from Massachusetts as representative: "Female labor constitutes nearly 12 per cent. of the whole; professional services, 46.26 per cent.; personal service, 40.66 per cent. In trade women are 11.09 per cent of the whole; in transportation only .29 per cent.; in agriculture, .52 per cent.; in the fisheries 9 per cent.; while in manufactures female labor is 28.58 per cent. of the whole." A prize article in *Once a Week*, vol. viii. No. 19, gives a very full enumeration of the very numerous occupations which have been undertaken by women. The U. S. census bulletin of occupations, issued May 18, 1895, shows that during the census decade 1880–1890, while the increase in the number of men and boys engaged in gainful occupations was 27.64 per cent., the increase in the number of women and girls was 47.88 per cent., but of the total number of women and girls over 10 years of age, only 16.98 per cent. are so engaged, while the percentage of men and boys is 77.28. The total number of breadwinners on June 30, 1890, was 22,735,661, of whom 18,820,950 were men and boys, while only 3,914,-711 were women and girls. In Great Britain, in 1891 the percentage of women and girls above 10 years of age so engaged was 34.42 per cent., but had increased only from 34.05 in 1881 (*The Voice*, July 25, 1895), showing that the maximum seems there to have been reached. It may not be irrelevant to add that in the decade 1880–1890 the increase of our population was only 24 per cent., the lowest except for the war decade, 1860–1870, when it was 22. Figures are as follows for decades ending

1800, 35 ; 1810, 36 ; 1820, 33 ; 1830, 33 ; 1840, 32 ; 1850, 35 ; 1860, 35 ; 1870, 22 ; 1880, 30 ; 1890, 24.

25. *Ethics of Marriage.*

26. The crimes of man begin with the vagrancy of childhood.—Victor Hugo, quoted in Circular No. 5, Ohio State Board of Charities.

27. On heredity, see "Notes on Purity" in Appendix.

28. Send to *The Philanthropist*, 39 Nassau Street, N. Y., for White Cross pledges and related leaflets.

29. That the "client" referred to failed in his attempt to profit by his unclean notoriety through a lecture tour is an omen of good. The darker side is given in Clokey's *Dying at the Top.*

30. See discussion of purity in art in "Notes on Purity" in Appendix. For information as to methods of successful warfare upon crime-breeding literature and pictures, address the "fighting Quaker," Josiah W. Leeds, 528 Walnut Street, Philadelphia ; also, Anthony Comstock, Times Building, New York, and Mrs. Emilie D. Martin, W. C. T. U., superintendent of Department of Purity in Art, 1 Broadway, New York.

31. See Appendix, "Notes on Purity."

32. *Ethics of Marriage*, 163.

33. The libertine, gambler, and drunkard, all of them morally insane and totally unfit to be harbored within home's sacred walls, are still retained there because society makes no provision to place them where they ought to be, within the walls of institutions where they can have expert care and treatment, be self-supporting, and, best of all, be delivered from themselves. The drunkard in Chicago who pounded his sick wife to death with the body of their new-born child was an illustration, carried to the supreme degree, of the cruelty to which the State is not yet awakened on behalf of the home. When women statesmen come to their own, let us hopefully believe, the home will not be left so shelterless as it is now.—*Miss Frances E. Willard.*

Here it is appropriate to record the World's W. C. T. U. petition to the rulers of all nations in which is voiced the bitter cry of the women of all lands against the worst foe of the home.

Polyglot Petition.—Honorable Rulers, Representatives, and Brothers :

We, your petitioners, although belonging to the physically weaker sex, are strong of heart to love our homes, our native land, and the world's family of nations.

We know that clear brains and pure hearts make honest lives and happy homes, and that by these the nations prosper, and the time is brought nearer when the world shall be at peace.

We know that indulgence in alcohol and in opium, and in other vices which disgrace our social life, makes misery for all the world, and most of all for us and for our children.

We know that stimulants and opiates are sold under legal guarantees which make the governments partners in the traffic, by accepting as revenue a portion of the profits, and we know with shame that they are often forced by treaty upon populations either ignorant or unwilling.

We know that the law might do much, now left undone, to raise the moral tone of society and render vice difficult.

We have no power to prevent these great iniquities beneath which the whole world groans, but you have power to redeem the honor of the nations from an indefensible complicity.

We therefore come to you with the united voices of representative

women of every land, beseeching you to raise the standard of the law to that of Christian morals, to strip away the safeguards and sanctions of the State from the drink traffic and the opium trade, and to protect our homes by the total prohibition of these curses of civilization throughout all the territory over which your government extends. Names. Residences.

34. See author's two articles "Darwinism Not Proven," giving that or more adverse verdict from the sixty-six most eminent writers upon it, in *The Pulpit Treasury*, June and July, 1884.

35. "Take the tiniest protoplasmic cell, immerse it in a suitable medium, and presently it will perform two great acts—the two which sum up life, which constitute the eternal distinction between the living and the dead—Nutrition and Reproduction. At one moment, in pursuance of the struggle for life, it will call in matter from without, and assimilate it to itself. At another moment, in pursuance of the struggle for the life of others, it will set a portion of that matter apart, add to it, and finally give it away to form another life. Even at its dawn, life is receiver and giver; even in protoplasm is Self-ism and Other-ism. These two tendencies are not fortuitous. They have been lived into existence. They are not grafts on the Tree of Life—they are its nature, its essential life. They are not painted on the canvas, but woven through it."

36. Kidd's *Social Evolution*, 279–281, 294–295. See also Marshall's *Economics*, 297.

37. At the annual dinner to the Executive Committee of the National Association of Life Underwriters in 1894, the writer, in an address on "The Ethical Aspects of Life Insurance," showed that ethics are recognized not only in the rejection of the intemperate and licentious (Sunday workers should be added) as bad risks, and in the cooperation of companies, which suggests the value of brotherhood in business, but also and especially in the very existence of life insurance, which, in the main, represents man's undying love for his household, a virtue so unknown in all pagan lands that even in cultured Greece and Rome insurance companies would have found little support. Instead of insuring himself for his children's sake the Roman killed superfluous children for his own sake. Let that state of things be put in contrast with the fact (stated in *Public Opinion*, December 20, 1894), that in the United States alone the existing policies in 1892 represented $4,447,000,000.

38. Criminals not the victims of Heredity, *Forum*, September, 1893.

39. While physical heredity is no doubt as powerful as was ever supposed, the exaggerated claims made a few years since for mental heredity are being largely discounted, especially through Weissman's influential denial that acquired traits are transmitted. See also St. George Mivart's reply to Weissman in *Harper's Magazine*, March, 1895. Henry George, arguing that heredity is less influential upon mental traits than environment, says (*Progress and Poverty*, 350 ff.) of the famous case of "the Jukes," a great tribe of criminals and paupers descended from one neglected pauper girl, which is cited as showing hereditary transmission of vicious traits: "It shows nothing of the kind. . . Paupers will raise paupers, even if the children be not their own." He cites to the same effect the Janizaries, fanatical Moslems, who were torn from Christian parents at an early age, but educated to hate their parents' faith. Professor R. T. Ely (*Socialism and Social Problems*,

151–152, note) says: "The fact is frequently overlooked that heredity brings a set of circumstances with it, and what really belongs to the circumstances is often attributed to the heredity. A change of circumstances shows whether a great influence is to be attributed to the circumstances or to the heredity. It has been ascertained that ties of blood and marriage have long connected a large proportion of the criminal and pauper classes in the neighborhood of Indianapolis, Ind. Those thus related have been called, 'The Tribe of Ishmael.' Now the question in regard to this Tribe of Ishmael [also in regard to the famous "Jukes," see *Warner's American Charities*, 88 ff.] is, Which had the greater influence, heredity or circumstances? . . . Such statistics as we have show that more than nine out of ten children are saved by change in environment. Heredity would seem to have great weight in the case of special talent, as teachers have frequent opportunity to observe; but so far as ordinary moral character is concerned, circumstances would appear to be far more important." See also Pomeroy's *Ethics of Marriage*, 185.

40. The safest charity is education and the best form in which to give it is the Christian kindergarten, for which a valuable manual is afforded in *The Kindergarten and the Church*, by Mary J. Chisholm Foster. Hunt & Eaton, New York, $1.00.

41. Child labor is by no means always due to poverty. Alice L. Woodbridge of New York, who is an expert on this subject, says, "The slender wages of the children too often go to supply the family beer." —*Sunday Problem*, 141. The Children's Employment Commission (British), reporting on child labor in 1886, says: "Against no person do the children of both sexes so much require protection as against their parents." Quoted, *Marx's Capital*, p. 304. On many pages of Marx's book are cited facts as to the injuries to health and character caused by labor of children from 2½ years upward, kept at work long hours in crowded rooms; also like hardships of women.—"There are sad children sitting in the market place, who indeed cannot say to you, 'We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced'; but eternally shall say to you, 'We have mourned unto you, and ye have not lamented.'"—Ruskin, *Crown of Wild Olive*, lecture i. Although child labor has been more and more restricted during this century it is by no means extinct, and there is need even in the United States both of better laws and better enforcement. See two books of Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*, *The Children of the Poor*. In 1880 there were 1,118,356 children in the United States, between 10 and 16 years of age, at work in mines, factories, and stores. At this writing mines for 1890 are not reported, but in manufactures there were employed, in 1890, 121,194 children—boys under 16 and girls under 15. On child labor and its restriction in Europe, see Behrends' *Socialism and Christianity*, 152 f. On child labor in Illinois write Hull House, Chicago.

42. The Massachusetts Bureau of Labor in 1883 reported the average expense of working men's families as $754.42, while the father's average earnings were but $558.68, leaving about $200 to be made up by wife and children. But see also in Appendix, "How Workmen Live." On the relations of modern industry to family life, see Ely's *Socialism*, etc., 43 f.; also 321 f. On the high death rate of the children of mothers working in factories, see Marx, *Capital*, 243.

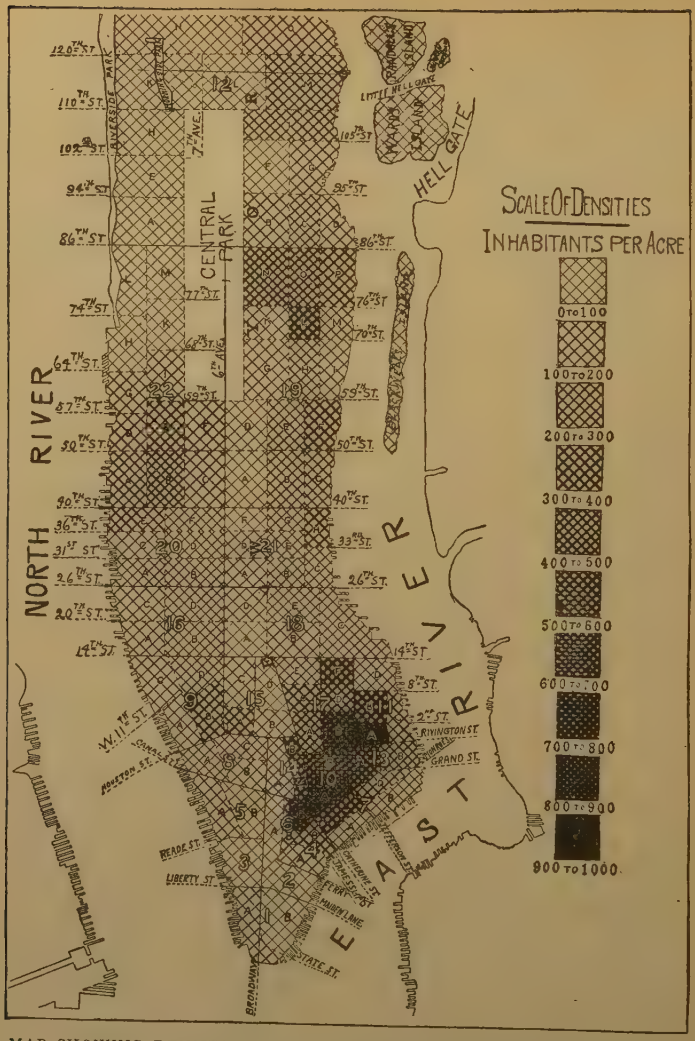
43. The Illinois Supreme Court, in March, 1895, declared unconstitu-

tional the sweat-shop law forbidding women to work more than eight hours a day, on the ground that it abridged her industrial rights to an equal chance with men. The decision is far-reaching. See Helen Campbell's *Women Wage Earners* and *Prisoners of Poverty* (Robert Bros.). New York has a law, often violated by inhuman merchants, that seats shall be provided for women employed in retail stores. Dr. Joseph Cook (*Labor*, 136), in a most valuable lecture on the hygienic and moral perils of young girls engaged in industrial pursuits, reported to an applauding audience that there was one business establishment in Boston employing a dozen girls, who were allowed and required to take a vacation of three days every four weeks, which resulted not only in better health for them, but also in better work for their employer.

44. No man and no corporation can escape responsibility for the use made of property or wealth, which *is potential power of service.* Not only church corporations which hold tenement-house property, but every corporation, every individual who holds tenement-house property, is under obligation to hold and manage that property not solely with a view to making it yield a desired income. Primarily and always the obligation rests upon every holder of such property so to use it that it shall contribute to the welfare of his fellow-men. Should there not be the fullest and most public registration of the owners of all tenement-house property—the owners of the land as well as the owners and lessees of the houses—that the correcting and restraining power of public opinion may prevent the worst abuses of such property?—President Merrill E. Gates in *The Independent*, January 10, 1895. If the average home of an English working man were only as healthy as a felon's cell, it would add eight years to the average length of the workman's life; and who can estimate the value of that addition to the wife and children of the workman?—Hugh Price Hughes, *Philanthropy of God*, pp. 276–277. Through game-preserving we have grouse and black-cock—so many brace to the acre, and men and women—so many brace to the garret.—*Communism of John Ruskin*, p. 125 (*Crown of Wild Olive*, lecture i). The bright side of the subject of the "Housing of the Poor" in Europe may be seen in the special report, 1895, of the United States Department of Labor on that subject, prepared by Dr. E. R. Gould, showing that model tenements are being rapidly multiplied in European cities with financial profit to the builders as well as hygienic and moral benefit to the tenants. For valuable points on self-supporting model tenements, which do not offer lower rents, which would only lower wages, but give more for the money, especially privileges in common, such as reading rooms and playgrounds, see article by Dr. William Howe Tolman in *Charities Review*, 2: 332, on "The Social Unions of Edinburgh and Glasgow," which are models for like organizations in other respects also. In the more crowded parts of London 70,000 are now in homes which have been built as a result of the movement inaugurated in 1844, by the Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrial Classes.

Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, comparing British and American municipalities in *The Forum* of November, 1892, shows how sanitary reforms in Birmingham saved 3000 lives per year, reducing the rate from 26.8 per 1000 in 1874 to 19 in 1888.

A pamphlet on *Riverside Buildings of the Improved Dwelling Company* for the working classes, showing by plans and elevations how to



MAP SHOWING DENSITIES OF POPULATION IN THE SEVERAL SANITARY DISTRICTS OF NEW YORK. *See Lecture ii, p.* 77.

(Reproduced in *The Literary Digest*, February 2, 1895, from a map prepared by the Sanitary Commission.)

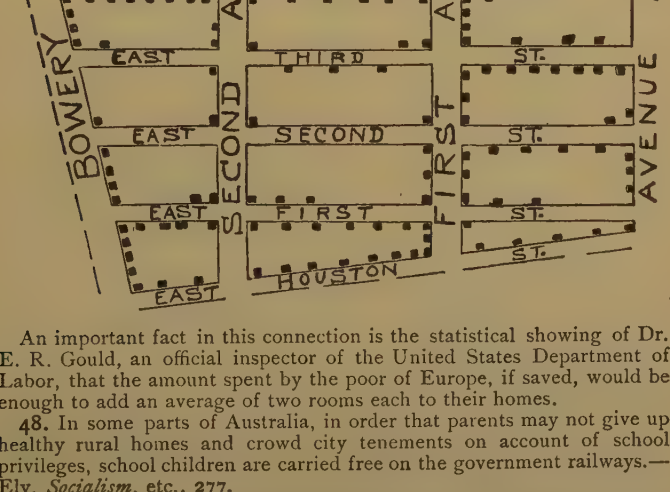
[Persons to a dwelling; Baltimore, 7.71; Philadelphia, 7.34; Chicago, 15.51; New York, 36.78. New York's tenement-house census for 1894 shows 39,138 tenement houses in the city's twenty-four wards. Of this number 2346 are what are called rear houses, in which live 56,130 people, including 8784 children, who know little sunlight or air. In the twentieth ward the tenement population is 80,499. In the twelfth ward are 29,842 children under five years.

build comfortable and profitable tenements for the poor, may be had, on application, from Hon. A. T. White, 20 Joralemon Street, Brooklyn. See also article by same on "The Churches and Tenement House Reform," *Christianity Practically Applied*, 2 : 196, and another article on "Homes of the Poor" in *Chautauquan*, January, 1893. See also *Handbook of Sociological Information*, 247–249, on model tenements of New York City. Send to Richard Watson Gilder, editor of *The Century*, New York, for Report of the Tenement House Committee, 1894, and summary of the tenement house laws secured by him from the New York Legislature in 1895. Also, send to United States Department of Labor at Washington for special reports on the slums of American cities. —Only five per cent. of the New York tenements are so bad that they ought to be razed.—Behrends, *Socialism and Christianity*, p. 209. Read Helen Campbell's *Darkness and Daylight in New York*.

45. On sweat-shops, read Bank's *White Slaves*. The Massachusetts law against sweating may serve as a pattern or suggestion for other States. See Massachusetts laws in law library or in Ely's *Socialism*, 320.

46. See article on "Sanitation in Relation to the Poor," by Professor W. H. Welch, M. D., in *Charities Review*, 2 : 203.

47. In New York, as a whole, 1 saloon to 200 persons ; in its slums, 1 to 129. Here is a sample from a pamphlet by Robert Graham, the black squares representing saloons.



An important fact in this connection is the statistical showing of Dr. E. R. Gould, an official inspector of the United States Department of Labor, that the amount spent by the poor of Europe, if saved, would be enough to add an average of two rooms each to their homes.

48. In some parts of Australia, in order that parents may not give up healthy rural homes and crowd city tenements on account of school privileges, school children are carried free on the government railways.—Ely, *Socialism*, etc., 277.

49. In Johnson *vs.* Johnson, Supreme Court of Michigan, 1894, the

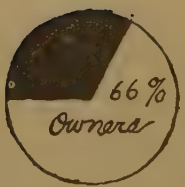
court—all the justices concurring—holds that a wife who has notified saloon keepers not to sell intoxicating liquors to her husband, can recover damages for injury to her means of support from one who sold her husband liquor during the first two days of an eighteen days' debauch, notwithstanding the fact that other sellers furnished him with liquor during the other days.

50. If tobacco did not render a man so . . . self-satisfied he would surely feel a choking sensation when he drew baby's shoes . . . John's new coat and wife's new dress . . . through his pipe and blew them away in the lazy, curling smoke.—Rev. Charles Roads, *Christ Enthroned in the Industrial World*, 136–137.

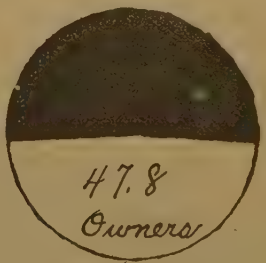
51. A table of home ownership for the whole country, issued in 1895, based on the census of 1890, shows that only 37 per cent. of the 12,690,-152 families then owned their homes ; in New York, lowest of the cities, only 6.33 ; in Rochester, the highest, nearly 44. By States and Territories, the highest were : Oklahoma, 68.46 ; New Mexico, 62.70 ; Utah, 60.65 ; Idaho, 58.47. The only other States above 50 per cent. were Kansas, Nevada, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. Of the 4,767,179 who then occupied farms, nearly 64 per cent. were owners. *The Outlook* of February 2, 1895, in an article by its sociological editor, Mr. Spahr, based on figures of the census expert, Mr. George K. Holmes, gives the following diagrams as showing, in white, the proportion who have at least a part ownership in their residences. 27.97 per cent. of the owning

Cities over 8000 :
3,600,000 families.

Towns and villages :
4,200,000 families.



Farms :
4,800,000 families.



Entire Country :
12,700,000 families.

families own subject to incumbrance, equal in the total to 37.50 per cent. of the value of such homes, that is, an average debt of $1257 on home of average value of $3352. Send for Extra Census Bulletin No. 98 on *Farms, Homes, and Mortgages*, which gives the other related

facts. An interesting study in the science of statistics is the contrary uses made of mortgage statistics. The pessimists who cite mortgages as always synonymous with misfortunes will get little credit from those who have seen their helpfulness to the poor in building and loan associations. See opposite arguments from mortgage statistics in *American Magazine of Civics*, January and March, 1893.

52. A "stag party" is very apt to become "a stagger party."

53. For example: St. Louis, 1889, churches, 220, lodges, 729; Chicago, 1890, churches, 344, lodges, 1088. See *Christianity Practically Applied*, 2 : 46. A church in Tabor, Ia., has copied a point or two from the lodges as follows: Each member of a church there is invited to contribute fifty cents per month to the benefit fund, and those who comply are entitled to the following benefits: 1. Regular sanitary inspection of their homes. 2. Free medical and surgical attendance in case of sickness or accident. 3. Three dollars a week while disabled. 4. A traveling certificate equivalent to a letter of credit in case of need, and 5. Free burial in case of death. Provision is made for extension of these benefits to the other members of a family if one of them is a member of the church, and for the care of young children and orphans.

54. Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst says (*Ladies' Home Journal*, February, 1895): "I consider the club to be one of the cleverest devices of the devil to prevent homes being made, and to sterilize and undermine them when they are made."

55. Send to *The Congregationalist*, Boston, for free booklet on *Organized Work for Men and Boys*. See also, *Christianity Practically Applied*, 2 : 245 f., 345 f., on boys' brigades, clubs, etc. For information as to working girls' clubs, address Grace H. Dodge, care of William E. Dodge, New York. See also article in *Chautauquan*, 9 : 223. Papers on clubs for girls and wives may be read in *Christianity Practically Applied*, 2 : 269 f., 284 f., 290 f., 322 f. As to Home Culture clubs, write Miss Adelaide Moffett, Northampton, Mass. "The Domestic Circle," 222 West Thirty-eighth Street, is a club for young married people, worth studying by those wishing to form such a one. Without increased revenues the poor might be made much less miserable if they could be led by readings and discussions at conferences or by distribution of reprints to avail themselves of the *Hints on Domestic Economy* by Miss Juliet Corson and the *Sanitary Suggestions* by Dr. Charles D. Scudder, both in the *Handbook for Friendly Visitors*, prepared by the New York Charity Organization Society. Write the Junction City (Kas.) Cooperative Cooking Club for their plan of reducing by combining kitchen work.

As to federations of women's clubs, address Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson, president of National Woman's Council, 158 West Twenty-third Street, New York; also, as to King's Daughters. The Countess of Aberdeen (*Arena*, February, 1895) suggests as appropriate work for women's clubs, among other things: "The care and sanitation of the home, the nurture of the children, their physical, mental, moral, and spiritual education . . . our own spiritual and mental, moral and spiritual needs—how they can be supplied so as to fit us for our life's work."

56. The Americans have completed their *reductio ad absurdum* in pleasure as well as in business. Eating and drinking no longer suffice to bring people together, and the ladies say that if you want anyone to

come now, you must have something special to entertain your guests. You must have somebody sing, or recite, or play; I believe it has not yet come to a demand for hired dancing, as it presently will, if it does in London.—W. D. Howells in *The Cosmopolitan*. As to teaching civics, correspond with the American Institute of Civics, 38 Park Row, New York, which publishes most valuable pamphlets and leaflets, of which fifty cents would bring a good variety to start with.

57. See Appendix.

58. Alice Stone Blackwell, in 1895, in *The Woman's Journal*, tells us in what States women can vote, and on what questions: "Women have suffrage on all questions in Wyoming and Colorado; full municipal suffrage in Kansas, a limited municipal suffrage in Iowa, and school suffrage in Kentucky, Kansas, Wyoming, Michigan, Minnesota, Colorado, New Hampshire, Oregon, Massachusetts, New York, Vermont, Nebraska, Wisconsin, Washington, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Arizona, New Jersey, Illinois, Connecticut, and Ohio. The limited municipal suffrage of Iowa also includes a vote on school questions. The form of school suffrage differs in different States. For instance, in Massachusetts women can vote for school officers, but not upon school appropriations. In New Jersey they can vote for school appropriations, but not for school officers; the Supreme Court having decided the latter to be unconstitutional. In most States where they have school suffrage they vote for school officers." Dr. Joseph Cook suggests as a safe rallying cry for electoral reform, *No sex, no shirks, no simpletons in suffrage*, that is, he accepts woman suffrage only when safeguarded by the educational qualification on one side, and by compulsory voting on the other. It is significant that Miss Susan B. Anthony, early in 1895, made a long argument in *The Independent* for the educational qualification for voting. As working men are beginning to see that the people will not venture on government ownership of monopolies without civil service reform, so women should see that the perils of suffrage are already too great to double the number of voters without introducing the educational qualification. In place of compulsory voting, the author would have compulsory recording of reasons for not voting, which would allow for cases of conscience while effectively rallying to the ballot-box those who had no excuse worthy of record. If "Woman's rights" ever wins its case it will be under the nobler name of Woman's *Duties*.

59. The plan which the author as a pastor used successfully, "making the Bible read like a romance, like a new book," as one of his members expressed it, is published at $10 per 100, 15 cents per copy, under the title, *Reading the Bible with Relish*. In this connection should be noted also, *The Home Department of the Sabbath School*, designed to enlist in the study of the regular lessons those who are unable to attend the school. Send to Dr. W. A. Duncan, 1 Somerset Street, Boston, for circulars of information.

60. Benjamin Kidd shows that even parental altruism has been perverted, not in individuals only, but in whole nations also [*e. g.*, ancient Greece and Rome and modern France], by rationalism, which utters no efficient disapproval of sexual immorality and no authoritative call to the sacrifices of marriage and especially of motherhood, *Social Evolution*, 283, 294, 303.

61. Rev. Dr. John Hall of New York City, Rev. Dr. Tennis W.

Hamlin of Washington, regard the increasing tendency to use Sabbath afternoon and evening for dinner parties and receptions, even in Christian homes of wealth, as one of the most serious perils of the Sabbath and of religion.

62. Dr. Alfred Russell Wallace, the eminent scientist, in the November, 1894, *Nineteenth Century*, brought the influence of his great name and of that prominent periodical to bear upon the duty and privilege of giving household servants, both men and maids, larger enjoyment of Sabbath rest. The civil law, both in Great Britain and in the United States, excepts "work of necessity," by which household work is chiefly meant, from its prohibition of Sunday work, trusting to the humanity of each household to limit the work of servants on that day by the proper interpretation of the word "necessity." Many servants are worked unnecessarily and unmercifully even in Christian homes on the Lord's day, in disregard of both divine and civil laws, but it is frequently the case that servants are released from work for half of the day and half of some week day. Dr. Wallace urges that Christians should regard it as a privilege, if not a duty, for those members of the household "who have spent the week largely in idleness or in pleasure, or in work of a kind different from that of their servants," to take the servants' Sunday work. This would not involve the keeping of anyone from church, except those who took care of the babies, in which the fathers should take their turns. A Sunday dinner, as the writer knows, may be the best of the week without keeping anyone from the banquet of the soul to prepare it, if only the wife has the wit and the will to so plan it. For all engaged on the Sabbath in works of necessity and mercy, we would have a written or unwritten law that they should have a consecutive rest for twenty-four hours every week, including the first half or second half of the Sabbath—more, if possible. Where there's a will there will be found a way.

63. See "Seventeen Propositions on Child-Saving," Hendersons' *Dependents, Defectives, Delinquents*, 75-76. Also a very valuable number of *The Charities Review*, March, 1893, devoted to child-saving. Professor A. G. Warner, in a very able chapter on "Dependent Children" (*American Charities*, ch. ix, also pp. 347, 351), states as the conviction of many experts in child-saving, "that no child should be placed in an institution except on judicial approval. . . The dependency of each child should be ascertained by a court and the guardianship of the child then vested in the board of guardians." This chapter shows that New York, by making it easy for parents to transfer the care of their children, until they are old enough to earn something, to subsidized sectarian institutions, has increased the number of its dependent children until there is 1 to every 260 of the population [1 to 100 in New York City], whereas Michigan, by acting on the principles above described, has reduced the number of its dependent children to 1 in each 7256 inhabitants. Only twenty per cent. of the juvenile dependents in New York are orphans. Private benevolence pays only twenty-one per cent. of expense of dependent children in New York City; ninety-seven per cent. in Philadelphia.

64. The following words are copied from a private boarding-school advertisement in a leading religious paper: "Don't say that 8 or 9 or 10 is too young to send him to me. I have to do what I can for older boys, but if I could fill my school with 8-year-olds, I shouldn't take one at 9; and I know my business."

65. Professor A. G. Warner (*American Charities*, 345) states that nine of New York's private and sectarian charities received, in the year ending October 1, 1892, as their per capita allowance from the State for support of a part of the inmates, $65,498 more than they expended for the maintenance of all the inmates. See also ch. xvii on "Public Subsidies to Private Charities."

66. Professor A. G. Warner shows (*American Charities*, 224) that congregating children in asylums results, in the case of infants, in high mortality; in the case of older children, in low vitality. On p. 237 he says: "The placing-out system at its best is the best system." The New York Children's Aid Society distributed about seventy-five thousand children in Western homes between 1857 and 1893. Two of these have grown up to be governors of States, one a mayor, one a legislator, and others have become eminent, or useful at least, as ministers, lawyers, doctors, teachers, merchants, and farmers. See article on "Placing Out New York Children in the West," *Charities Review*, 2: 214. *The Dangerous Classes of New York*, by Charles Loring Brace, is largely descriptive of his rescues of homeless children. In the office of the Children's Aid Society, under a beautiful picture of the rich young ruler, the following words of Mr. Brace have been attached: "How any youth can grow up to manhood enjoying all the blessings of life in such a city as this, crowded with misfortune and cursed by crime, and not feel it his solemn duty to do his best to lessen these evils, is something incomprehensible."

67. Dr. Wichern of the Rauhe Haus, being asked by what means he was able to produce such wonderful changes in the wayward children committed to his care, said, "By the Word of God and music."—We now know that the mere intellectual rudiments of education have very little influence indeed in preventing crime, though they may have a distinct influence in modifying its forms. Such education merely puts a weapon into the hands of the anti-social man. The only education that avails to prevent crime in any substantial degree must be education that is as much physical and moral as intellectual; and education that enables him to play a fair part in social life.—Havelock Ellis, *The Criminal*.

68. Statistics showing that criminals do not usually lack mental but oftener manual education are given in Behrends' *Socialism and Christianity*, pp. 244–245. The author found ninety per cent. of the inmates of a Massachusetts State prison entered as having "no trade."

69. F. B. Pratt of Pratt Institute makes the following distinction between "manual" and "industrial" education: "'Manual training,' an education which has for its sole object the training of the will powers." "Industrial education stands for that training in the arts, sciences, and the crafts which makes a far better workman, whatever the condition of his industrial pursuit."—*Handbook of Sociological Information*, p. 9. Send for reports and circulars of the Industrial Education Association, 21 University Place, New York, and for United States Department of Labor Report on Industrial Education. Those who wish to go into this subject fully will, of course, study in person or by reports the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Cooper Union, New York; Pratt Institute, Brooklyn; Drexel Institute, Philadelphia; Armour Institute, Chicago; New York Trade Schools, etc. Massachusetts, in 1895, provided that, after that year, "manual training shall be given in every city having a population of twenty thousand, and authorizes instruction in cooking as

a part of the regular curriculum throughout the State." The winning argument was as follows: "If Boston provides full collegiate preparation through her Latin schools, and full preparation for business through her high schools, surely there ought to be opportunity for boys who wish to learn trades to be taught the principles preparatory to such callings."—Dinners at nominal prices are provided for the children in the national schools of Germany through the cooking schools connected therewith.—Hughes, *Philanthropy of God*, p. 280. Henry Holt, in *The Forum*, April, 1895, discussing industrial discontent, says: "Manual training, then, and its accompanying instruction in principles, should cover ground enough to enable a man to practise more than one trade, and, if need be, to quickly learn a dozen. With rational teaching, this could be done in less time than, under the apprentice system, it takes to learn one." There are rumors going the rounds of the papers that agricultural colleges unmake more farmers than they make, whose probable falsity or possible truth should be investigated by some sociologist. It is the writer's firm conviction that the prospective minister would do well to learn a mechanical trade, after the fashion of the old rabbis, after the pattern of Christ and Paul—carpentry, for instance, or tent-making, or fishing, all apostolic. Such courage as the times call for would not then be so much challenged by the fear of loss of support for wife and children. It would be a good reserve battery for the future teachers of economics also, whom the corporations are seeking to silence—so Professor R. T. Ely says—(*Socialism and Social Problems*, 282), which statement Hon. Carroll D. Wright confirmed with instances. The Board of Regents of Wisconsin showed no lack of courage in their acquittal of Professor Ely, who had been attacked, notwithstanding his conservative and careful discussion of new economic doctrines. They said: "We cannot for a moment believe that knowledge has reached its final goal, or that the present condition of society is perfect. We must, therefore, welcome from our teachers such discussions as shall suggest the means and prepare the way by which knowledge may be extended, present evils may be removed, and others prevented."

70. Professor Bemis of Chicago University, as the result of special investigations, declares that American labor organizations do not generally discriminate against the American boy in favor of the foreign immigrant, nor do they oppose the apprentice system.—*Doc.* 129 *of American Academy of Political and Social Science.* Even this statement of Professor Bemis does not wholly convince the public that its former belief in this matter is wholly wrong. More investigation is needed.

71. On Fresh Air Fund and kindred summer charities, see *Christianity Practically Applied*, 274 f., 293 f. The New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor proposes to utilize, during the summer, some of the public-school buildings in the crowded districts of the city for free instruction in kindergartening and manual training of such children as may be induced to attend. As thousands of children in the tenement districts must live in the streets during the heated term, it is believed that many will be glad to spend a few hours every week in these "Vacation Schools," where play and study are so happily commingled. The school hours are only from 9 A. M. to 1 P. M., and the exercises are so arranged as not to prove irksome to even the smallest children. The experiment has already been adopted with success in Boston and in other cities. Philadelphia has a Small Parks Association which is en-

deavoring to brighten the lives of the poor of that city by providing places where the little ones can romp and play at will without being tormented with the everlasting admonition to "keep off the grass." The want of such places, the members perceived, was particularly felt in the thickly built up sections of the city. The association thereupon urged that, from time to time, certain abandoned graveyards and vacant lots in the heart of the old city be purchased or leased for this purpose. Some time ago it was proposed that, until permanent playgrounds could be secured, owners or trustees of open spaces should allow temporarily the use of such places by the children. This has met with a general and generous response. New charities are branching out of Christian altruism faster than the sociologist can record them. The National Association of Elocutionists is seeking to induce every city of twenty-five thousand or more inhabitants to maintain a special school for stammerers. Dr. Hönig of Berlin has invented a new ambulance, to consist of a litter carried by cyclists on their soft wheels. The movement to prevent the hideous and cruel docking of horses' tails won an effective law in Connecticut in 1895.

72. 77 Madison Street, New York.

73. Helen Campbell, in an article on "Child Life in Factories," published through the Irving Syndicate in several papers August 2, 1894, says: "At all points, in fields, workshops, factories, mines, and homes, these children are working from ten to twelve, and even fifteen, hours a day. Not only is there the positive hardship and suffering that accompanies toil of this nature, but the negative one of the utter absence of joy or any pleasure that rightfully belongs to childhood. Added to this is the ignorance which results and which settles like a pall on mind and spirits. The average age at which these factory children begin work is nine years old. They were found by the first factory inspectors to be not only delicate and puny, but so ignorant that many had no mental outlook beyond their own factory. The report of the New Jersey Bureau of Labor states as follows: 'Sixty per cent. had never heard of the United States or Europe, and ninety-five per cent. had never heard of the Revolutionary War. Many who had heard of the United States could not say where they were.' The Commissioner of New York State reported in 1887: 'Year by year we have seen the demand increase for smaller and smaller children until it became a veritable robbery of the cradle to supply them.' School attendance, though made compulsory, is evaded at every turn, the most rigid inspection being almost powerless against the concerted lying of parents, whose greed is often as evil a factor in the child's life as any to be encountered in factory or shop." Confirmation of Mrs. Campbell's last sentence is afforded by the reports of the New York State Superintendent of Schools, which show that, in 1851, the "total attendance" comprised 75.6 per cent. of the school population. This percentage has constantly fallen off with surprising regularity during the intervening forty years. In 1861 it was 65.6 per cent.; in 1871 it was 68.4 per cent.; in 1881 it was 61.4 per cent.; in 1891 it was 57.8 per cent. William T. Harris, Commissioner of Education, in February, 1894, reported the following States and Territories as having compulsory school-attendance laws: Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota,

Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin, Wyoming (Pennsylvania since added). The laws of Massachusetts and Connecticut are the most elaborate and the most rigidly enforced. (New York undertook enforcement in earnest in 1895.) Laws usually apply from 8 to 14 years, and for 12 to 20 weeks. The tendency is to increase the time. In Massachusetts it is 30 weeks, in Connecticut the whole school year. In 13 States compliance with the law is a condition of employment, and in 10 States employment during school hours is forbidden for children under a specified age, usually 12 or 13—in New Jersey 14 for girls. Six States provide free text-books, and California and Ohio clothing for the poor, while 3 States excuse them from school.—*Handbook of Sociological Information*, p. 8. On almost every aspect of education pamphlets may be had free on application to the Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C.

74. See a valuable article in *Educational Review*, January, 1895, on "One Year with a Little Girl," a minute study of a year beginning at her nineteenth month.

75. Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst is quoted in *The Independent* of February, 28, 1895, to the following effect: "There is more of the marrow and quintessence of truth in a single chapter of organized events and analyzed incident than there is in a ton of news items, though swept up from the dirty floor of the entire habitable portion of the world."

76. *The Outlook* (March, 2, 1895) said: "The cable has done many good things, but it has also made gossip international. For instance, this continent was gravely informed by cable from London that Mr. William K. Vanderbilt had purchased at auction a necklace consisting of thirty-nine pearls with a diamond clasp. It was also announced that the Prince and Princess of Wales, and what the late Mr. McAllister would have called a 'select party,' skated on a pleasant afternoon last week on the lake in front of Buckingham Palace, and that the Queen looked on from a window; while from Cairo came the announcement that the Khedive has formally married a slave-girl who had been one of his favorites."

77. "What dreffle things have happened this time?" said a child of five years as the head of the family opened the newspaper.—The finer sensibilities of delicate minds are hardened by constant reading of details of cruel and unclean actions. Those who are already feeble in purpose and idle are more strongly influenced. The daily newspapers are sometimes direct stimulants to crime . . . and augment the ranks of the human animals of prey. . . Hardened men will kill others or commit suicide in order to be sure of getting their names in the newspapers.—Professor C. R. Henderson, *Dependents, Defectives, Delinquents*, 132. A committee of the Society of Friends of Baltimore, in 1894, secured one hundred signatures of the leading educators of Baltimore to the following, and then sent it to every publisher in Maryland: "The undersigned, deeply interested in the education of the young, and in the maintenance of public morals, and profoundly sensible of the vast influence exerted by the press, respectfully and earnestly appeal to the editors and journalists of our State for their cooperation. In particular we ask that the detailed and sensational reports of vice and crime, and the immoral or questionable advertisements which appear in so many of our newspapers may be excluded. Cordially recognizing the sympathy manifested by the conductors of the public press, as a body, with the objects which we have at heart, we beg that greater care may be exercised in respect to

this important matter." The committee have received a large number of very kind and sympathetic replies from editors and publishers. The following is published by Mrs. Emilie D. Martin, N. W. C. T. U., Superintendent of Department of Purity in Literature and in Art: "Resolution unanimously adopted at the Tenth Annual Convention of the National Editorial Association, Asbury Park, N. J., July 5, 1894: *Resolved*, That the National Editorial Association is heartily in accord with every effort in the direction of elevating the moral standard of the press. We appreciate the interest that is being taken by the various woman's organizations in educating public sentiment in this direction, and will lend our united aid and influence in furthering the object." The author has found that daily papers are more willing to publish matter favorable to religion and reform than is generally supposed. For instance, when reports of reform addresses are furnished by the speaker, in good newspaper form, of the right length, breadth, and thickness, a column will as often be devoted to such use as less. We have not, because we ask not.

78. Colonel F. W. Parker, in a contribution to the author's *Associated Press of Reforms*, says: "The social factor in a republican education stands above all other factors in importance. No course of study, however elaborate, no methods or teachers, can instruct pupils in their duties toward all without the presence in the school of a representative of all grades of society, and of all phases of religious and political thought. The common school is the practice and preparation school of the nation; it is the government in embryo; the infant republic. . . The real danger of all schools not common, below the college, both parochial and private, is the segregation of one class of children in a community. The product of such segregation is lack of true sympathy—misunderstanding. Class-building has for its inevitable sequence, dislike, hate, and bigoted intolerance, all of which make a true democratic feeling impossible."

79. One may see the progressive and conservative theories of Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, as to whether and how far the State has the right to teach, in a pamphlet which maintains that it has, but includes replies from those of the opposite view, "Education: to Whom Does it Belong?" by the Rev. Thomas Boquillon, D. D., of the Catholic University at Washington. As to the claims made by numerous bishops that the school fund should be divided, probably the files of the *Catholic Review* of New York, from which we shall quote sufficiently on this point, would be the best original source.

80. How difficult it is to persuade the Roman Catholic laity to send their children to parochial rather than public schools, is shown by the following quoted from *The Catholic Review* in *The Congregationalist* of January 30, 1890: "The Catholic who deliberately refuses to send his children to his parish school is guilty of a violation of a law of the Church, and he gives scandal by setting an example of disobedience to his fellow-Catholics. . . They know very well that they have rendered themselves justly liable to the discipline of the Church, but they no doubt are also aware that their pastors are restrained from administering wholesome discipline simply to avoid an open rebellion in the parish." Notwithstanding such threatening appeals for years previous, the census of 1890 showed but 673,601 children in all parochial schools, many of them Lutheran. There were about as many more in private schools, 686,106, but the pupils of the public schools numbered 12,563,894, including manifestly the vast majority of Roman Catholic children.

81. In a famous case at Galatzin, Pa., the courts were asked to decide whether such teachers, by wearing their peculiar garb in the public schools, and requiring that they should be called "sisters," did not violate the State Constitution, which forbids sectarian teaching in such schools. The lower court said yes. The higher court, in a decision which might easily have been mistaken for a stump speech, reversed the decision as to the garb, declaring, however, that teaching the Roman Catholic catechism in the schoolhouse, even after school hours, would be a violation of the constitution. On this decision *The Milwaukee Catholic Citizen*, with more sense, as well as better law than the court, said: "We think that it would have been better public policy if the court had found a way to rule against the permission of a religious garb in the public school. These are common schools, and if we are fair enough to put ourselves in the position of Protestants, we will see that the presence of a Catholic sisterhood with all the insignia of their order, dress, rosaries, and crosses, has its religious influence, just as a flag or a uniform has its significance. There is no practical gain for Catholics in this decision, but rather the reverse; for if the court is to be liberal in permitting Catholic sectarianism in the public schools, the door is open for a larger introduction of Protestant sectarianism."

82. If any suppose that Roman Catholics admit the superiority of Protestant countries, as shown in Lansing's *Romanism and the Republic* and other literature, they will find the opposite claimed rather in Alfred Young's *Catholic and Protestant Countries Compared*, published by the Catholic Book Exchange ($1.00), which the New York *Sun* considers "the strongest piece of controversial literature on the Catholic side that has been put forth in recent times." It was reviewed in *The Independent* in March, 1895.

83. At the Catholic Lay Congress in Baltimore, I heard from one of the speakers the applauded and excellent definition: "Education does not mean to lead out, but to lead *up*."

84. To the primary teacher I would say . . . your constant purpose must be the moralizing and humanizing of the boys and girls under your charge. . . No man who takes a broad view of education can regret to see the growth of physical science as an educational agency. . . But it must not be allowed to drive the literary and the ethical from their supreme place.—Professor S. S. Laurie, in address to Liverpool Council of Education, 1888. What is morality but the being right with the total environment? There is no totality with God left out. Any fundamental separation in thought and life between right and God, morality and religion, is deadly dualism.—President George E. Gates, *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1 : 477. Touch the subject of education where you please, and apply it as you may, it can only achieve the best, and the most, when it has regard to him "in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." But in the eager exciting search, this is just what the secularist would have us ignore. His theory is that we are to look for the gold, but elsewhere than in the mine.—Rev. M. Rhodes, D. D., in *Lutheran Tract*, "They Must not be Divorced." See Kidd's *Social Evolution*, ch. ix, "Human Evolution is not Primarily Intellectual," for proof that we do not excel the ancients in brain power but only in heart culture. Not in craniums, but only in charities do we excel even the troglodytes. Altruism then is the power behind the world's progress in civilization, and on this account ethical and philanthropic studies should have large place in education.

85. "Ignorance is a cause of crime. Nevertheless 66.57 per cent. of all prisoners charged with homicide have received the rudiments of an education, in English or in their own tongue, and 3.44 per cent. have received a higher education. Ignorance of a trade is a cause of crime. But 19.35 per cent. are returned as mechanics or apprentices, and a much larger number have the necessary skill to follow mechanical pursuits. Idleness is a cause of crime. But 82.21 per cent. were employed at the time of their arrest. Intemperance is a cause of crime, though a less active and immediate cause than is popularly supposed. But 20.10 per cent. were total abstainers, and only 19.87 per cent. are returned as drunkards. The root of crime is not in circumstances, but in character. The saying of the Great Teacher will forever remain true: 'Out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders.' Science confirms the moral teachings of religion."—Rev. F. H. Wines, *United States Census* (1890) *Bulletin*, 182.

86. The Bureau of Education has concluded, from statistics gathered from twenty States, that the proportion of criminals among the illiterates is about ten times as great as among those who have been instructed in the elements of a common school education or beyond. But it should be added that the thefts of educated criminals are, on the average, more than ten times as great. The illiterate robs a freight car; the educated thief steals the whole railroad.

87. The question of Bible reading in the public schools has been settled in Toronto, Canada, to the satisfaction of both Protestants and Catholics, by the introduction of a reading book containing selections of Scripture. A petition signed by many thousands of names—among them that of W. J. Onahan, who is known among Catholics as their most distinguished layman in America—was presented to the Chicago Board of Education, in 1894, asking for the use of this or a similar book in the public schools of that city. The petitioners say: "As the whole religious world united without objection in the universal prayers to 'Our Father who art in Heaven' during the world's religious congresses of 1893, we believe that all right-minded classes of Americans now agree on the daily reading in the public schools of suitable selections from the sacred Scriptures, and the recitation of that prayer and the two great commandments upon which hang all the law and the prophets, thereby fixing in the minds of the children the vital spiritual principles on which good citizenship and the future welfare of our country so largely depend." *The Inter-Ocean* is urging this movement to restore the Bible to the public schools of Chicago, from which it was suddenly expelled by a sinister attack in 1875, without opportunity for the people to be heard.

88. Cardinal Gibbons, in a letter to a Methodist preacher (quoted in *The Independent*, February 21, 1895), urging the reunion of all Christians, says: "The Catholic Church holds to all the positive doctrines of all the Protestant Churches."

89. See extracts in Appendix from *Easy Lessons in Christian Doctrine*, whose use is above described. As to prayer, priests and preachers in Ansonia, Conn., in March, 1895, recommended the Lord's Prayer as found in Matthew vi: 9–13, for use at the opening of public schools. In this connection what follows in the next note from *The Catholic Review* gets new significance.

90. "For God's sake, dear friends of religion, of morality and good order, let us lay aside our prejudices and come together on the same

common ground that will do justice to all with partiality to none, and let us resolve that at least Christian children shall be trained in Christian doctrine and in the Christian spirit, that they may constitute a safe and permeating leaven that with the blessing of God shall leaven the whole lump."—Quoted in *Christian Statesman*, November, 1892.

91. *The American Hebrew*, February, 14, 1890, commenting on an article by Rev. J. A. Faulkner in *The Christian at Work*, said: "On the point at issue he takes exactly and literally the same position which *The American Hebrew* has occupied. In order to be exact, we quote his own words: 'It is both feasible and proper that children should be instructed in the common schools in the main principles of religion, that there is a God, and that it is our duty to fear, reverence, and love him. Any distinctively Christian or sectarian instruction it is not within the province of a Democratic State to give. This must be left to the Church and the family. But it is madness for the State, in the interests of a false materialism, to banish all the higher truth from the training places of her future citizens in the most influential period of their lives.' This is in every way the theoretical view of the matter which we have always held. Mr. Faulkner then goes on to expound his ideas as to the practical method for carrying them out, and it is also identical with that which we have suggested: 'Let a committee of Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic laymen, representing all sections of the taxpayers, cull from an unobjectionable translation the more important historical and ethical portions of the Old Testament, and make those portions the subject of daily study in the schools. Is not the story of Joseph and of Esther as profitable reading as the history of Alfred the Great and of Paul Revere? And are not the Proverbs of Solomon as excellent food for morals as the fables of Æsop?'"

92. If you examine into the history of rogues, you will find they are as truly manufactured articles as anything else. . . Let us reform our schools, and we shall find little reform needed in our prisons.—Ruskin, *Unto This Last*. The law in France requires that "schoolmasters and mistresses shall teach the children, during the whole duration of their school life, their duties toward their family, their country, their fellow creatures, toward themselves and toward God."

93. A special cable dispatch to *The World*, of New York City, July 7, states that the Parliament of France is grappling in earnest with the drink evil, and has determined upon four definite methods of restriction, as follows. 1. Prohibition of such liquors as are declared dangerous by the Academy of Medicine. This will take in absinthe and various other concoctions. 2. State monopoly in other drinks containing over 15 per cent. of alcohol. This is the Swiss system, and virtually the same, in its main features, as the South Carolina dispensary system. 3. The repeal of all taxes on liquors containing less than 15 per cent. of alcohol (beer and wines). 4. The introduction of temperance instruction into the primary schools at once, and the extension of such instruction a little later into the secondary schools. When these lectures were delivered, February, 1895, Georgia, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Indiana had not adopted scientific temperance education. In March Indiana did so, and Tennessee soon after. The other two can hardly shut out the surrounding light for long. The secret opposition of rum-befriending politicians and the indifference of some teachers make it important that pastors and parents who value such teaching shall see to it that

the laws prescribing these lessons are obeyed. It is a surprising sample of the impracticability of much of our education that, notwithstanding the general study of hygiene in the schools, *The Forum* of May, 1895, shows that, as a rule, schoolrooms are ill ventilated, poorly lighted, and overcrowded, which is largely the fault of school boards, but would be impossible if public sentiment were sufficiently enlightened and aroused by teachers and pupils and their friends. Ranke's *Elements of Physiology* gives thirty-five cubic feet of fresh air per minute for each person as a requisite to the best health. It is appropriate to note here also the substitute for alcohol in emergencies used by Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson of the National Temperance Hospital, Chicago. She says: "I have now learned how thoroughly we can meet exigencies of all kinds without the use of alcohol in any form, and that we have at our command remedies that are better. I find that the use of coffee and tea and alcoholic drinks create in the system such a condition that, when alcohol is administered to the patient, the system fails to respond. Carbonate of ammonia dissolved in milk I find to be an efficient substitute." Here it is fitting to note also that the New York *Christian Advocate* finds that of 534 "Keeley cure" cases investigated 275 were cured—a good showing, though less than the boast. Chauncey M. Depew thinks the best results come from a combination of the "gold" and "gospel" cures.

94. In this connection we urge not only upon teachers but especially upon the Young Men's Christian Associations and the various young people's societies a vigorous and persistent, though kindly, crusade against tobacco, the foe of purity and abstinence, of health and thrift. It is not worth while worrying confirmed slaves of tobacco, except to make them respect the rights of others to pure air. But it is relatively easy to rescue beginners. Their own headaches and heart-flutters and uneasy consciences leave no spirit in them for self-defense. Surely a young Christian cannot be indifferent to the arguments that tobacco wastes money and strength, and incites to passion and appetite, and enthrones a weed as the master of the will. It is an encouraging sign of the times that many influential bodies of men have had their attention arrested by the undoubted evils of cigarette smoking among youths, and that they carry their reason one step further and say that what is so very harmful to the youngsters cannot be very beneficial for the elders. So, every day or two we learn that some "council," or "school board," or "legislature" has taken the matter into consideration. Anti-cigarette laws were passed, in 1895, in California, Nebraska, and West Virginia—probably in other States, but the so-called newspapers do not tell us. In nearly every legislature anti-cigarette laws and laws raising age of consent, and laws legalizing race-track gambling were introduced in 1895, and will be again in 1896 in many.

95. See Atterbury's *Sunday Problem* (James H. Earle, Boston, publisher, 35 cents), pp. 25, 37; also my *Sabbath for Man*, alphabetical index, "Hygiene."

96. The difference between business and gambling is simply this, that, in gambling, one party or the other must lose, while in business both may gain, and commonly do so. . . New York thieves and pickpockets . . . never speak of having stolen a watch or other valuable; they have "won" it. . . Gambling speculation is going through the form of purchase and sale, without any thought of actual goods or actual trade; it is just bet-

ting on the future prices of things. . . It does not steady prices, but is one of the most potent forces in unsteadying them.—President E. B. Andrews, *Wealth and Moral Law*, 12, 70, 72, 74. The great majority of the phenomenal fortunes of the day are the result of what may be called lucky gambling. . . Wall Street is its headquarters, and millions upon millions of dollars are accumulated there to meet the wants of the players. . . Railroad stocks are its favorite cards to bet upon, for their values are liable to constant fluctuations, on account of weather, crops, new combinations, wars, strikes, deaths, and legislation. They can also easily be affected by personal manipulations. . . The fortunes started by luck afterward grow by the inherent attractive power of money. But the money which composes them is the money won from the unlucky and not the money, or in very small part that, earned by the railroads for transportation. More and more every year are men, from all parts of the country, taking their surplus in trade, in manufactures, in farming, and in all their multifarious pursuits, and bringing them into Wall Street to bet upon railroad cards.—E. Porter Alexander, *Railway Practice*, 56, 57. In 1895 the governors of the New York Stock Exchange decided no longer to lend the countenance of that institution to swindling enterprises. If they live up to that there will not be much left of the Exchange. See John Bigelow's article on "Gambling" in *Harper's Magazine*, February, 1895.

97. At the beginning of the recent fight with the Louisiana lottery, I was a visitor in the home of a congressman in the Southwest, himself a church officer and his household mostly church members. But when I referred to the lottery in uncomplimentary terms, his wife said, in frank surprise: "I don't see any harm in the lottery. All of us ladies buy the tickets, and the cook and the coachman. My husband is a banker, and *he* thinks no one should buy lottery tickets except with his own money." That fairly represented the sentiment of many church-going people of that section—and of other sections, too—so recently as 1890. Another incident is needed to illustrate the attitude of the pulpit of that section at that time. Being in New Orleans to speak on Sabbath reform, I incidentally said, by way of introduction, in an address to the union preachers' meeting: "Louisiana has had two blots on its escutcheon—one the absence of a Sabbath law, the other the presence of a lottery law. The first blot you have already removed, and in three years you will have an opportunity to remove the other." I said no more of the lottery, but at the end of my half-hour speech I found the preachers had forgotten everything else. One prominent pastor rebuked me for going beyond my special theme. Others attempted to defend themselves, though unaccused, for not preaching against the lottery. The chief pastor of the city said "he did not believe in preaching on particular sins." But when the war with the lottery began he preached on its "particular" infamy so severely that he was accused of "inciting to lawless methods for its overthrow." The other pastors also forgot their theories about ignoring sins that were in politics, and fought bravely for the rescue of the eighth commandment from the Philistines. A letter I had written after that preachers' meeting to the Postmaster-General, which he referred to the Attorney-General, had led the latter to cause the introduction into Congress of the anti-lottery law, and so the fighting was forced at Washington as well as in Louisiana. Despite twenty-eight millions of profits per year, which the lottery had available for bribery,

let pessimists note that the legislators in Congress and the people in Louisiana both voted right.

98. See booklet of *The Independent*, reprinted from its columns, entitled *The Bible: Ignorance Respecting It*, by a College President.

99. The signatures to the petition included the governors of the most influential States in the country, together with many State officials, and State superintendents of public instruction. Mrs. Hunt, in a letter to the author, February 2, 1895, in reply to an inquiry, says: "No, there is not as much being done in the colleges and institutions of higher learning as there ought. The time has certainly come when the colleges and universities should send out their students knowing why they should be total abstainers."

100. Sociology, almost unrecognized in the American college curriculum ten years ago, although it has not yet attained to the exactness of a science, is becoming not only a common, but a popular college study. In this respect social science promises to excel physical science ere long, as it already excels it in its ministry to the highest needs of man and the highest work of God. Christian sociology, first recognized in the establishment of a full professorship in 1890 in the Chicago Theological Seminary (Congregational), is now taught by lectures or otherwise in an ever-increasing number of colleges and theological schools. In this connection should be noted the following words of Phillips Brooks: "If we understand aright our country and our time, it is the prophetship of the scholar which men are looking for and not seeming themselves to find. The cry of the land is for a moral influence to go out from our schools and colleges and studies to rebuke and to reform the corruption and the sin which are making even the coldest-blooded man tremble when he dips his foot into some brink of the sea of politics. . . The scholar is disgraced if the nation go mad with cheating, and his hand is never laid, cool and severe with truth, on its hot forehead."

The subject of colleges and reform suggests a word on football. The college football clubs are getting even harder knocks from the press than from each other. In view of the fact that there were more wounded in the Harvard-Yale battle, in 1894, at Springfield, in proportion to the number engaged, than in any battle known to history, one paper proposes that the colleges should settle their quarrels by arbitration instead of football. Corbett objects to the "double standard" by which the public condemns retail slugging while permitting it wholesale. But the hardest hit is the joint decision of the secretaries of war and navy forbidding the cadets of West Point and Annapolis to play football, on the manifest ground that the game is too brutal for civilized soldiers. Public opinion certainly calls for the suppression of the game as too brutal for gentlemen, too dangerous for amusement. I have no antipathy to football. In the big churchyard of my Brooklyn church, I used to play football every Monday afternoon with my Sabbath-school boys of nine to sixteen years of age. I so cured my own Mondayishness, and won the boys to Christ, and the onlookers to my congregation. But in that case the game fitted the name. It was football not handball, not slugging in disguise. *The Outlook* thinks it significant that Yale University, which held the championship at the close of the 1894 games, found no essay handed in in 1895 worthy of the "Lit." prize, one of the chief prizes of the University. Those who desire to go into the subject further should write to President Eliot of Harvard for his annual report for 1893-94, in which he

condemns inter-collegiate football, which the Faculty of Arts has since asked the Athletic Committee to discontinue so far as Harvard is concerned.

101. In connection with the foregoing suggestion, the Princeton students were shown, in an address before the Sociological Institute, supplemental to the lectures, how beer is made, by means of a large chart and a miniature distillery, which first distills out of the lager beer the alcohol, seven per cent. or less, with which a torch is saturated to show it is really intoxicating "fire water," and then the white of an egg is thickened and whitened as the like substance of the brain is affected in the case of the drinker. Then the water is distilled, leaving a bitter half spoonful of nearly indigestible solid matter for each glass of the drink, which, if it were the best bread, would yet cost at the rate of $250.40 per barrel, but which in fact no one can be hired to eat when the "fuddle" is out of it. In the writer's opinion, the whole fire of the temperance army might well be concentrated on beer as the bridge across which eighty per cent. of the drunkards reach their land of woe, as is shown by statistics obtained at the New York Christian Home for Intemperate Men, in response to a question as to the drink on which each inmate began. We recommend the following pamphlets on this subject, all published by the National Temperance Society, New York: *Beer and the Body*, *Testimony of Physicians*, *Catechism on Beer*, *Readings on Beer*; 5 cents each. Consult also *Total Abstinence* by Dr. Benjamin Ward Richardson, 20 cents. As to doctors giving lectures on such a subject with experiments, it would enable them to be doctors indeed, that is, teachers, not mere dosers, physicians. The great mission of "the family doctor" should be, not to heal its diseases, but prevent them, being paid by the year to teach the family how to keep well, and doctors might well be employed in schools also, to teach that health is greater happiness than anything for which it is sacrificed. *The Union Signal* of May 2, 1895, quotes an editorial from the *Journal of The American Medical Association*, in which instances are cited where drinking doctors and medical students have been of late refused appointments and diplomas by the profession as showing a tendency to recognize the value of an unfuddled brain in the delicate work of doctors. This matter of temperance education extension has a very close relation to the proposed union of reform parties. In 1895 old party ties had become very weak. Democratic papers and Democratic officeholders abused each other. Republicans were as divided on the silver question as their chief opponents on the tariff. Landslide after landslide had created *a landslide vote* in both of the leading parties, which vetoed its own party candidates whenever they were too manifestly the creatures of bosses or themselves objectionable. The Populists had also turned down their bad lot of governors. Everything was favorable for a new alignment on the anti-saloon and anti-monopoly issues, if only the public had been educated to feel their supreme importance. There is no short cut to abiding triumph. A campaign of education alone can bring fusion without confusion. The silver and tariff issues are in their very nature transient. Business will insist on their speedy settlement for its own peace and prosperity. In 1900 moral reforms will have a clear field for the new century, if only the public mind has been prepared by the needed education.

102. Neighborliness is the essence of all that is best in social effort.—

Samuel A. Barnett, Toynbee Hall, in handbook of *Sociological Information*, p. 98. "Alas! it is not meat of which the refusal is cruelest or to which the claim is validest. The life is more than the meat. The rich not only refuse food to the poor; they refuse wisdom; they refuse virtue; they refuse salvation. Ye sheep without a shepherd, it is not the pasture that has been shut from you but the presence."—*Communism of John Ruskin*, p. 95 (*Unto This Last*, Essay iv). You cannot do your duty to the poor by a society. Your life must touch their life.—Phillips Brooks. For reports of leading University Settlements in the United States, apply to University Settlement Society, 26 Delancey Street, New York; College Settlements Association [conducted by Women's Colleges], 95 Rivington Street, New York; Eastside House, Foot East Seventy-sixth Street, New York; The Chicago Commons, 140 North Union Street, Chicago; Epworth League Settlement, Boston; Andover House, Boston; Princeton House, Philadelphia; Kingsley House, Pittsburg. Hull House, Chicago, is quite fully described in Stead's *If Christ Came to Chicago*, ch. v. See *Outlook* of April 27, 1895, for full list of New York City's numerous settlements and description of their work. A College Settlements Conference was held in New York City, May 3–5, 1895. The subject most discussed, and the one that seems most far-reaching, was the relation of the Settlements to the labor movement. This discussion brought out varied opinions as to methods, but unanimous agreement as to the necessity of developing some policy. Mr. Percy Alden of Mansfield House, London, in his explanation of the relation of Mansfield House to the labor question, showed that there was greater liberty accorded the Settlement movement in England in this direction than is accorded it in this country. Dennison House, in Boston, has done very positive work in affiliating itself with the labor movement. Miss Addams, of Hull House, Chicago, urged the application of the principle of conciliation and mediation as the function of the Settlement in all labor troubles, and this seemed to express the consensus of opinion of the audience. Education was treated from the standpoint of emancipation. Next to the labor question, social life received the greatest attention and brought out the greatest variety of opinion. The Settlement was presented as a meeting ground; a medium of introduction between the classes; a social center of the neighborhood; and, lastly, the illustration, through the life of its residents, of the spirit in the home, and the interpretation, through neighborhood relations, of Christ to man. See also Fairbairn's *Religion in History and Modern Life*, 1894 edition, 3–6 (Randolph, $1.50).

103. The other day, in the East Side of New York, a Jewish mother from Russia was confined, and her little babe was born without a shred of clothing to put on it. The doctor, who had come from the College Settlement, sent back to the Settlement and got some baby garments that were kept for such an exigency, and brought them and put them on the little babe, and put the babe in the mother's arm. The mother shut her eyes and rested for a moment in that strange, sweet ecstasy of motherhood, and then she opened her eyes and said: "What Jewish society sent these to me?" The doctor said: "No Jewish society, my dear; they were sent by some Christians." The mother shut her eyes and pondered a moment, and then she opened them again with wonder and said: "I didn't know that Christians could be kind."

104. This pastor, Mr. Conte, preaching to two hundred Italians on the

second clause of the Lord's Prayer, explained "his high ideal for the future of the Italian colony as representing the kingdom of God on North Street." *The Outlook*, in commenting upon the undertaking of philanthropic work by gilds, settlements, etc., apart from the Christian name, says: "They are mistaken when they think that to acknowledge their loyalty to Christ will create prejudices against them and put an obstacle in their way. It will lesson the prejudices and remove the obstacles. In all men, even the lowest and most ignorant, is a spiritual nature. For all reform, the direct appeal to this spiritual nature is the quickest and most efficacious method of enlisting the will on the side of the friend and the reformer. And no name so quickly appeals to this nature and elicits so quick a response as the name of Christ, as no spirit so quickly finds the unsprouted seed of divinity in the soul of man as the spirit of Christ. Wisdom and loyalty combine to demand of the Christian that he do Christ's work in Christ's name, as well as with his spirit: Wisdom, because that name is a powerful reenforcement of moral and spiritual work of every description; loyalty, because honor demands that work to which Christ has called us, and for which he has inspired us, should be done in open, candid, and glad recognition of his leadership."

105. *Far and Near*, in May, 1894, said of the University Settlement work in New York, for which it speaks: "There is one aim which we can avow and keep before us openly without harm or offense to any one —it is not to make our neighbors better or wiser, for very many of them excel us both in goodness and wisdom, but it is to make them *happier*."

106. The illustrated papers and books so frequently found in barber shops, saloons, and other places of resort are chargeable with the suggestion and provocation of all the impulses which lead to rape, theft, arson, robbery, and murder.—Professor C. R. Henderson, *Dependents, Defectives, Delinquents*, 140. It would be fitting that the Ministers' Meeting, the Good Citizenship Committee, the Practical Ethics Club, or some like body, in every town should impressively request barber shops and newsrooms to exclude all literature whose pictures or titles or contents would, to young or old, be suggestive of vice or crime. *Police Gazettes* can be excluded by obscenity laws, if necessary, and in some States (it should be all) pictures of criminal acts may not be exposed in windows or elsewhere in sight of children. Anthony Comstock says: "The faro-bank, the roulette table, hazard, policy, and lotteries combined are to-day not doing the harm to this nation that pool gamblers and bookmakers upon the race-tracks are doing, supported as they are in their system of public plundering by otherwise reputable newspapers. The 'sure tip' of the newspaper is beguiling many and many a youth to not only sacrifice his entire earnings, but tempting thousands to become defaulters, forgers, and thieves in order to get money to satisfy the insatiate greed for gain awakened by these temptations."—*Christianity Practically Applied*, vol. i, pp. 419–420. Editors are also greatly at fault for the reckless way in which they handle reputation, which Shakespeare truly described as more precious than gold. In the case of slander, retraction does not retract. Editors should hang on the front of their desks as a warning Will Carleton's lines:

> "Boys, flying kites, call in their white-winged birds—
> You can't do that way when you're flying words."

LECTURE III.

1. While the producer is not, as often assumed, the sociological unit, the workshop, second to the home in the portion of life it covers, is also a secondary point of departure for sociological study, the home and workshop being the two foci in the sociological orbit. From home to shop and from shop to home, for six-sevenths of the days is the routine of life.

2. Capital is every product which is used or held for the purpose of producing or acquiring wealth [as distinguished from property used to satisfy human wants directly, which, in economics, is considered as "consumed"]. . . Production means the creation of utilities by the application of man's mental and physical powers to the physical universe, which furnishes materials and forces. [All that nature furnishes is called "land" in economics.] This application of man's powers is called "labor." [Things furnished by nature become "goods" when, by change of place or form, they become capable of satisfying any human want.]—Ely, *Outlines of Economics*, 103, 90, 91.

3. To be poor is to live in perpetual anxiety about satisfying the very simplest wants, and to have all kinds of wants besides which you have no chance of satisfying.—William Morris, *Hammersmith Socialist Library*, No. 1.

4. Ruskin shows in *Unto This Last*, Essay ii, that "the whole question of national wealth resolves itself finally into one of abstract justice." Injustice, which he calls elsewhere "the devil of iniquity or inequity" (*Crown of Wild Olive*, sect. i), may enrich a person, but only at a loss to the nation.—Justice is above that charity which is a substitute for justice, but justice can never wholly take the place of charity, nor even equal charity at its best. Even if justice should as fully triumph as is possible in an imperfect race, patience and charity would still be needed, and "the greatest of these is charity."

5. The competitive system of industry is fast passing away.—President E. B. Andrews, *Wealth and Moral Law*, 30. (Eight forms of trade combination specified, 30–31.)

6. We reach solid ground for complaint in the fact that the products of society's toil are not distributed to individuals according to the causality of individuals in creating those products.—President E. B. Andrews, *Wealth and Moral Law*, 81. All agree that the present distribution is unjust.—Ely's *Socialism*, 15. Shorter hours of work, better conditions, and a more equitable division of the social product among the producing factors are the reasonable demands of labor.—Frederick W. Spiers, Drexel Institute, *Handbook of Sociological Information*, p. 29. Future generations . . . may even smile at our conceptions of present-day society as a condition in which we secure the full benefits of free competition. . . A large proportion of the population in the prevailing state of society take part in the rivalry of life only under conditions which absolutely preclude them, whatever their natural merit or ability, from any real chance therein.—Benjamin Kidd, *Social Evolution*, 232. It cannot be denied that the working classes have not shared in the advance of the present century as they ought to have done.—Behrends, *Socialism and Christianity*, 94.

7. The rich tend to become very much richer, the poor to become more

helpless and hopeless.—Henry George, *Progress and Poverty*, 378. See also pp. 11, 63, 207.

8. While the poor man has been getting on, he has not retained his old-time closeness to the average weal.—President E. B. Andrews, *Wealth and Moral Law*, 86. [That the progress of the workman has not been as great as claimed is shown on p. 84 ff.] Mr. Carey conceived that the actual distribution of wealth is sufficiently defended in showing that, in modern production, labor receives, relatively to capital, an ever-increasing share of an ever-increasing product. Bastiat, in France, and Mr. Edward Atkinson, in America [see *Distribution of Profits*, 75 f.], follow Carey in this generalization. . . Unfortunately for its ethical value as a social sedative, it omits to record that the laborer's share per unit of product—*i. e.*, per yard, per ton, or even per dollar's worth—may increase in its ratio to the share of the capitalist in that same yard, ton, or dollar's worth of product; yet if the number of yards, tons, or dollar's worth of product in which the capitalist gets his diminished share becomes, as his capital expands, a thousand or twenty thousand fold greater than the number of yards, tons, or dollar's worth in which any one laborer gets his increased share, then the disparity in condition between employer and employed would, so far as the Carey-Atkinson law is concerned, continually become greater.—George Gunton, in *Social Economist*.

9. Professor J. E. Thorold Rogers, in *Work and Wages*, shows that neither farmhands nor mechanics in Great Britain receive as much purchasing power in wages now as in the Middle Ages. Chart on page 116, however, shows gain in United States as compared to 1840, while chart on following page shows that increase of wages has not been in proportion to the increase of wealth. For further facts showing that workman's condition has improved, even if not in just degree, see McMaster's *History of the United States*, on the year 1784; Sotheran's *Horace Greeley*, 45–46, 49–50; Kidd's *Social Evolution*, 222–226; Ely's *Socialism and Social Problems*, 258–259; *Fabian Essays*, 235; Hon. Jos. Chamberlain on "Last Half Century," in *North American Review*, May, 1891; *Eclectic Review*, December, 1894, review of material progress of the poor since beginning of century; also in Appendix, Chronological Data on 1830, etc.

10. There would be no [labor] problem at all, were it not for our ethical and Christian ideals, which abhor injustice and inequality.—Professor J. R. Commons, *Social Reform and the Church*, 8. Rev. Dr. James Brand says, in *The Kingdom*: "It is true that multitudes of laboring men are well paid. But we believe that, in the majority of cases, labor organizations have a cause, that they are seeking fair play, and that certain forms of poverty are a true 'indictment of society' and a cause for legal action. The existence of sweat-shops, the hours of labor on street-car lines, the tyranny of combinations of capital, the 'truck system' and the rent system of many employers, are cases in point." The writer found motormen in Wheeling, W. Va., working at their trying task fourteen hours a day, and in many places the hours are nearly as unjust as these.

11. A gentleman pausing in the streets of Homestead, Pa., to listen to a speaker who was discussing monopoly, asked a workman by his side: "What wages do you earn?" "About twelve dollars per day," was the reply. "Why don't you then save your money and be a capitalist your-

self?" "Ah, but I love whisky too well," was the candid but sad reply.

12. The strikers for higher wages in the National Tube Works of McKeesport, in 1894, were earning $4 to $7 per day, except the common laborers, who received $1.40.

13. On Sweating, see Banks' *White Slaves;* write Congressman for House of Representatives *Report* 2309 on Sweating. A sweater is defined by the Standard Dictionary as "an employer who underpays and overworks his employees; especially a contractor for piecework in the tailoring trade." This work is largely done in crowded and filthy tenements by ignorant, foreign, unorganized workers, accustomed to a low scale of living, and, until the successful sweaters' strike in New York in 1894, thought incapable of self-defense, however wronged. That strike, cooperating with friendly investigation and agitation, has somewhat mitigated the evil.

14. Professor E. W. Bemis of Chicago University computed the wages of bituminous coal miners in 1890 as $6.87 a week, on an average, in Illinois; $6.76 in Ohio; $7.55 in Pennsylvania. "Since these figures were gathered," says a writer quoted in *The Voice* in 1894, "wages *have been reduced one-third* at least in Ohio and western Pennsylvania, on each ton of coal, and the number of days of work per week has decreased one-half, so that despair is written on the countenances of thousands of our miners." Deduct from $6.76 one-third, and then divide the result by two, and the sort of wages on which men are trying to subsist and keep their families is found to be about $2.25 a week. This of course is eked out somewhat by earnings of other members of the family, but it is also depleted by the high prices which the men are often compelled to pay at company stores. In *The Voice* of March 14, 1895, the report of an impartial commission is quoted as to Hocking Valley miners, which shows that their working time was so short, and their wages so low in 1894, that it averaged but twenty-seven cents per day for the year. But in contrast to these "starvation wages," see in Appendix, Part Second, "How Workmen Live," for the usual conditions.

15. Not absolute industrial equality, but "practical equality of opportunity" is what the Fabian Society advocates.—*Fabian Essays*, p. x.

16. Professor R. T. Ely shows that individuals are not to be blamed for using competition or even monopoly while the system remains, even though themselves desiring a better system. See *Socialism and Social Problems*, 192. On p. 380 the Nationalist Declaration of Principles is quoted as taking the same ground.

17. A memorial of the woolen manufacturers of Massachusetts presented to the Legislature, protesting against the pending fifty-eight hour a week bill for women and children in factories, contains these words: "Uniform hours of factory labor may be established by Congress in all the States, and until that is done the petitioners earnestly protest against legislation which will add to the disadvantages with which Massachusetts manufacturers must already contend in the severe and close competition of the present day."

18. See Kidd's *Social Evolution*, 180; Ely's *Socialism and Social Problems*, 179, 257–259, 267. Professor Ely says that workmen are too much disposed to think they do not need educated leaders. One of the bravest recent fights against corporations was led by Adolph Sutro, the California capitalist, of Sutro tunnel fame, as the successful candidate for Mayor of

San Francisco in 1894. In 1895, at a mass meeting held in Brooklyn in support of a bill providing that the people of New York, Brooklyn, and Buffalo be permitted to vote on the question of the municipal ownership of street railways, the Rev. Dr. Rainsford, Mr. Ernest H. Crosby (the son of the Rev. Dr. Howard Crosby), the Rev. Father Ducey, the Hon. F. W. Hinrichs (the head of the Tax Department in Brooklyn under Mayor Schieren), and Mr. Thomas G. Shearman, not only gave their cordial support to the bill providing for a popular vote on this question, but every one of them most cordially indorsed the principle that the public highways should be under the public control. In May, 1895, the New York *Times* published long lists of firms which voluntarily raised the wages of many thousand workmen, without strikes or even solicitation, on the first approach of better times, partly no doubt at the dictate of prudence, but partly in response to altruistic sentiment.

19. See pp. 172, 175, 179, 300. "The history of Toryism in England," says the *Review of Reviews*, "is always the same. It is an unbroken record of successive surrenders."

20.

"So grew and gathered through the silent years
The madness of a People, wrong by wrong;
There seemed no strength in the dumb toiler's tears,
No strength in suffering: but the Past was strong;
The brute despair of trampled centuries
Leaped up with one hoarse yell and snapped its bands,
Groped for its right with horny, callous hands,
And stared around for God with bloodshot eyes.
What wonder if those palms were all too hard
For nice distinctions—if that Mænad throng—

. . . . . .

Whose chronicles were writ with iron pen
In the crooked shoulder and the forehead low.
Set wrong to balance wrong,
And physicked wo with wo?

"They did as they were taught; not theirs to blame
If men who scattered firebrands reaped the flame:

. . . . . .

What wrongs the Oppressor suffered, these we know;
These have found piteous voice in song and prose;
But for the Oppressed, their darkness and their woe,
Their grinding centuries,—what Muse had those?"

—James Russell Lowell: *Ode to France*, *February*, 1848.

See also Hugh Price Hughes, *Philanthropy of God*, 259.

21. The development which Marx contemplated is thoroughly materialistic.—Benjamin Kidd, *Social Evolution*, 217. Material self-interest alone will not furnish a motive strong enough to shatter monopoly.—*Fabian Essays*, p. 271. If we are to have only the frank selfishness of the exploiting classes on the one side, and the equally materialistic selfishness of the exploited class on the other . . . then the power-holding classes, being still immeasurably the stronger, would be quite capable of taking care of themselves, and would indeed be very foolish if they did not do so. . . Socialism of the German type must be recognized as ultimately as individualistic and as *anti*-social as individualism in its advanced forms.—Benjamin Kidd, *Social Evolution*, 218, 241. In the words of Richard Hovey in *The Independent* (August 16, 1891):

"Atheism in the palace smiles in his silken coat,
But atheism in the hovel curses and cuts your throat."

22. The laboring masses or their best leaders are coming to see that

genuine morality is needful to any valuable reform in their condition. They will one day discover that such morality can be solidly based nowhere else than upon Christ.—President E. B. Andrews, *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1 : 349.

23. No man can pretend to claim the fruit of his own labor ; for his whole ability and opportunity for working is a vast inheritance and contribution of which he is but a transient and accidental beneficiary or steward.—*Fabian Essays*, p. 126.

24. The Vice-President, when questioned as to the salaries paid to the company's officers, declined to answer ; but he admitted that, while the company had reduced its receipts $52,000, it had reduced the wages of its employees $60,000. From the testimony of Mr. Pullman and Mr. Wickes it seems clear that they intended that their employees should bear nearly the whole burden of the "hard times" rather than that the company, with its twenty-five millions of undivided surplus, should bear any considerable share of this burden.

25. We are surprised to read such a statement as the following from so humane and thoughtful a Christian sociologist as Bishop Potter : "Wages, it has been said, ought to determine prices, and not prices wages. It seems to have been forgotten that prices are but the convenient registers of the ever-varying desires of men, and that the claim to fix wages by an ethical standard, independently of the market, really involves the assertion that human desires can be and ought to be unalterable in direction, and constant in extent." Per contra, see lecture, "Is Justice a Peril to Capitalists?" by Dr. Joseph Cook in his *Labor*, p. 253 f.

26. I believe that we can never make man worthier, more loving, nobler, or more divine—which is, in fact, our end and aim on earth—by merely heaping upon him the means of enjoyment. . . Ameliorations in your condition . . . seek as a means, not as an end ; seek them from a sense of duty, and not merely as a right ; seek them in order that you may become more virtuous, not in order that you may be materially happy.—Joseph Mazzini, *Duties of Man*, 17, 144.

27. Apart from Christianity, it does not appear plain why I should love all men and try to promote their welfare. Fraternity may become a mere matter of taste, about which controversies may never terminate. —Professor R. T. Ely, in *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1 : 442.

28. See *Fabian Essays*, 180, 228.

29. Sometimes employers teach employees to skimp work in order that they may themselves rob the public. Whether you pay seven days' wages or ten for the painting or papering of your house depends on whether or not other urgent orders are waiting.

30. Your English watchword is fair play ; your English hatred, foul play. Did it ever strike you that you wanted another watchword also—fair work—and another hatred—foul work?—Ruskin, *Crown of Wild Olive*, lecture i. We look in vain among the working classes in general for the just pride which will choose to give good work for good wages. —John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, bk. iv, ch. vii, § 4. Bishop Tucker of Uganda in Africa says : "Do you know, when we walk along the roads and see men mending them, or working in the fields, we say 'Well done, many thanks,' repeating the words twice." He suggests that brain-workers say that to manual workers, and manual workers to brain-workers, in other lands.

31. Mind your own business with your absolute heart and soul ; but see that it is good business first. . . And be sure of this, literally—you must simply rather die than make any destroying mechanism or compound.—Ruskin, *Fors Clavigera,* iv.

32. In the New York *Christian Advocate* of August 2, 1894, appeared the following : " Private Cedarquist was tried by court-martial for refusing to attend rifle practice on a Sunday, after being ordered to do so by his superior officer. The court found him guilty, and sentenced him to confinement for six months with forfeiture of pay. That no soldier has a right to disobey the orders of an officer is clear. If he does so he should be punished, or there is an end of discipline. Cedarquist set up that he had religious scruples, and that the laws of Nebraska forbade the practice which he was ordered to attend. As to the last point, we cannot see that it applies. As to the first, there is some preliminary history. Seven years ago it was proposed to abolish the Sunday morning inspection and Sunday evening dress parade. Most of the officers, among them Generals Sherman and Sheridan, opposed it. President Harrison passed an order limiting such work as this except in cases of clear necessity. Unless the young man exhibited an offensive spirit, the punishment is severe where the act was based on religious scruples. But there was nothing to do in the army but to enforce obedience to superior officers. Such rules would relieve the private officer of responsibility in a matter of ceremonial observance, however binding upon him as an individual obedience thereunto might be." President Cleveland pardoned the brave soldier, and rebuked the officer who had required the unauthorized Sunday work of rifle practice.

33. A strike is just such a contest as that to which an eccentric called "the Money King" [of San Francisco] challenged a man who had taunted him with meanness, that they should go down to the wharf and alternately toss twenty-dollar gold pieces into the bay until one gave in. —Henry George, *Progress and Poverty*, 227–228.

34. Conan's *Growth of the English Nation*, 137.—The banner of the Glovers of Perth, seventeenth century, was : " The perfect honour of a craft or beauty of a trade is not in wealthe, but in moral worth, whereby virtue gains renown."—Quoted, Toynbee's *Industrial Revolution,* 224.

35. Eugene V. Debs is reported to have said since the Chicago strike : " I will never again be connected with any strike organization. The strike has developed the fact that the sentiment of the people of the country is against strikers, and the Government stands ready to pull down such movements at the point of the bayonet. I shall hereafter advise all working men to seek redress at the ballot." Grand Master Sargent, of the Locomotive Firemen, says : " The lesson of the American Railway Union strike is that the employee must respect public sentiment and the law. Also that, when you have a quarrel with one man you cannot make all others suffer. Sentiment will be against you, and sure defeat will be the result." General Master Workman Sovereign, of the Knights of Labor, says : " I can imagine that an emergency might arise that would justify a strike, but, generally speaking, nothing more than a temporary victory can possibly be achieved in this way at best. Strikes widen the breach between capital and labor, and no matter which side is worsted, it is sore over its defeat, and will retaliate with vengeance at the first opportunity. It is in study and education and the wise use of the power that is placed in their hands through the ballot that working men must hope for relief

from the conditions of which they justly complain." On May 20, 1895, at the biennial session of the Railway Trainmen, Grand Secretary Sheahan said of the Chicago strike: "The general effect of the strike will, I believe, be beneficial in the end to organized labor. It has taught the lesson that, in order to win a fight of any consequence, you must be in the right. I do not pretend to say that the cause of the Pullman Company was just, but I am obliged to admit that the strike against the railroad companies, and particularly those with which our membership and that of other railway labor organizations had contracts, was wholly unjustifiable." In that same month the United States Supreme Court refused to overrule Judge Woods' six-months jail sentence of Mr. Debs for contempt, and he accordingly went to jail. See *The American Republic and the Debs Rebellion*, by Z. Swift Holbrook, Bibliotheca Sacra Company, Oberlin, O., 35 cents. Notwithstanding above declarations against strikes, there were in May, 1895, numerous strikes of so violent a type as to require the intervention of troops.

36. At the General Assembly of 1894, they repealed the rule which had previously refused membership to all engaged in the liquor traffic.

37. This is the estimate of Professor E. W. Bemis.

38. John Burns, M. P., gives the following definition of trades-unionism: "A medium of collective bargaining for its constituency. It is for labor what a chamber of commerce is for trade, or an institute of bankers for finance."—Quoted, *Our Day*, February, 1895.- Labor unions usually aim at much more than "collective bargaining." Mutual improvement and aid have also a large place. The insurance feature promotes thrift and temperance. The study of social problems, and so good citizenship, is also promoted. See Symposium on Labor Unions, *Independent*, May 2, 1895,

See *Trades-Unions: Their Origin and Objects, Influence and Efficacy*, by William Traut, supplied by American Federation of Labor, 10 cents. On the beneficial influence of labor unions in raising wages, see Ely's *Outlines of Economics*, Chautauqua edition, 50, 187 ff. Many Christian working men might attend labor meetings but that they are so generally held on the Sabbath.

39. The point at which the process [historic evolution] tends to culminate is a condition of society in which the whole mass of the excluded people will be at last brought into the rivalry of existence on a footing of equality of opportunity.—Benjamin Kidd, *Social Evolution*, 140. Whatever the future may have in store for labor, the evolutionist who sees nothing but certain and steady progress for the race will never attempt to set bounds to its triumphs, even to its final forms of complete and Universal Industrial Cooperation, which I hope is some day to be reached.—Andrew Carnegie, quoted, Sotheran's *Horace Greeley*, p. 323. The practical conclusion of Mr. Herbert Spencer's philosophy is the Christian conclusion . . . that no action is absolutely good that does not conduce to the well-being of all whom it affects; and that human society is gradually evolving a social condition in which there will be no possibility of antagonism between the well-being of one and the well-being of all.—Hugh Price Hughes, *The Philanthropy of God*, p. vii.

40. If you do not know eternal justice from momentary expediency, and understand in your heart of hearts how Justice, radiant, beneficent, as the all-victorious Light-element, is also in essence, if need be, an all-victorious *Fire*-element, and melts all manner of vested interests and the

hardest iron cannon, as if it were soft wax, and does ever in the long run rule and reign, and allows nothing else to rule and reign—you also would talk of impossibility! But it is only difficult, it is not impossible. Possible? It is, with whatever difficulty, very clearly inevitable.—*Socialism and Unsocialism* (extracts from Carlyle), p. 22.

41. Unscientific optimists expect to organize imperfect men into a perfect society.—Small and Vincent, *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, p. 74. The economist finds no single remedies, but sees many helpful means, and awaits, for the final solution of the question, the slow development of society, which yet may be somewhat hastened by intelligent action.—Professor J. W. Jenks, in *Handbook of Sociological Information*, p. 52. See *Socialism of John Stuart Mill*, p. vii (Humboldt Library).

42. Even the Fabian Society, whose very name suggests a slow and sure rather than sudden revolution, was at first catastrophic, as its members recall, by way of measuring their growth in wisdom since its founding in 1884, when they "placed all their hopes on a sudden, tumultuous uprising of the united proletariat, before whose mighty onrush, kings, landlords, and capitalists would go down like ninepins, leaving society quietly to re-sort itself into Utopia."—Sydney Webb, *Fabian Tract No.* 51; see also *No.* 41.

43. Just as Plato had his *Republic* and Sir Thomas More his *Utopia*, so Babœuf had his *Charter of Equality*, Cabet his *Icaria*, St. Simon his *Industrial System*, and Fourier his ideal *Phalanstery*. Robert Owen spent a fortune in pressing upon an unbelieving generation his *New Moral World;* and even Auguste Comte . . . must needs add a detailed Polity to his *Philosophy of Positivism*. The leading feature of all these proposals was what may be called their statical character. The ideal society was represented as in equally balanced equilibrium, without need or possibility of future organic alteration. Since their day we have learned that social reconstruction must not be gone at in this fashion. . . . No philosopher now looks for anything but the gradual evolution of the new order from the old.—*Fabian Essays*, p. 5. However successful a revolution might be, it is certain that mankind cannot change its whole nature all at once.—Hyndman, *Historical Basis of Socialism*, p. 305.

44. *Christian Advocate*, July 19, 1894.

45. You knock a man into the ditch and then tell him to remain "content in the position in which Providence has placed him."—Ruskin, *Crown of Wild Olive*, lecture i.

46. When Lasalle undertook social reform in Germany he found the laborers in what he called a stupid and damnable contentment—the cursed habit of not wanting anything.

47. See Owen's *Economics of Spencer*, 163–164, 168–169. Labor legislation has made remarkable progress in many states during recent years. The record for 1893 may be found in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* for 1894.

48. See *Fabian Essays*, 250.

49. See Kidd's *Social Evolution*, 208.

50. The socialists are now inclined to take the position that what is needed to bring about socialism is not a reaction from excessive misery, but a strong and intelligent wage-earning population.—Professor R. T. Ely, *Socialism*, etc., 170.

51. Many talk as though nature were a Something apart from man, to which he must submit, but which he might not modify. If man is a part of nature his benevolent instincts are as "natural" as his predatory ones; his reasoned mastery of natural forces is as "natural" as the forces themselves.—Warner, *American Charities*, 123. The sciences which deal with man deal with a being who is modified by his environment, but who has the power of modifying that environment by his own conscious effort. . . Mr. Spencer . . . stoutly maintains that man by conscious effort, especially by collective or state effort, not only does not help this development, but actually hinders it. In this the whole theory is abandoned, for it is plain that if man by conscious effort can hinder a process he can help that process in the same way. . . The laws of economics are not natural laws in the sense in which the word is often used, namely, laws external to man and not at all the product of man. —Ely, *Outlines of Economics*, 77–79. The fatuity of all efforts to create a sociology has been the observance of physical phenomena apart from moral forces. . . The chief sociological fact is that human relations depend upon what people believe.—Professor George D. Herron, D. D., *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1: 457. There is no room in his [Spencer's] system for the theory and application of active, in addition to passive Social Dynamics. . . Sociology, according to Ward [*Dynamic Sociology*], is, on the contrary, teleological. "Dynamic sociology aims at the organization of happiness. . . Society, which is the highest product of evolution, naturally depends upon mind, which is the highest property of matter." . . It is not necessary to agree with Ward about the essence of mind, in order to use his exposition of mental function in social progress. . . Professor Wagner of Berlin has lately said . . . "economic and other facts with which welfare is concerned are capable of more or less modification by exercise of the human will." . . The men whose attention is devoted chiefly to historical data will be inclined . . . to regard society as a mill of the gods, which grinds so exceedingly slow that men cannot accelerate its motion.—Small and Vincent, *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, pp. 46, 51, 67, 73.

52. The thought of the latter [Karl Marx] that socialism comes as a result of a natural evolution, and not as the result of man's determination to replace the present social order by a better. . . That which he [Marx] and his friend Engels predicted has not taken place, because social efforts have been put forth to guide social evolution.—Professor R. T. Ely, *Socialism*, etc., 25, 259. See also 72 ff.

The term sociology, invented by August Comte, meant, in his usage, "social physics," "the social movement being subject to invariable natural laws, instead of to any will whatever." See Comte's *Positive Philosophy*, Martineau's Translation, 444, 465. Nothing could be further from explaining the facts of universal history than this theory that civilization is the result of a course of natural selection which operates to improve and elevate the powers of man. . . In every case it is not the race that has been educated and hereditarily modified by the old civilization that begins the new, but a fresh race coming from a lower level.—Henry George, *Progress and Poverty*, 346, 348. Mr. George cites classic art, literature, and history as showing that the human race has not gained physically or mentally in two thousand years past. Progress has been moral and social. It is impossible to understand by what strange blindness socialists adopt Darwinian theories, which con-

demn their claims of equality, while at the same time they reject Christianity, whence their claims have issued and where their justification may be found.—Émile De Laveleye, quoted, Behrends, *Socialism and Christianity*, p. 66. For further matter on biologic sociology, see *Fabian Essays*, 258, Owen's *Economics of Herbert Spencer*, 35, and article by Professor S. N. Patten, in criticism of Spencer and Ward, *Annals of American Academy*, May, November, 1894, January, 1895.

53. We need examples of people who, leaving heaven to decide whether they are to rise in the world, decide for themselves that they will be happy in it, and have resolved to seek—not greater wealth but simpler pleasure; not higher fortune but deeper felicity; making the first of possessions self-possession.—*Communism of John Ruskin*, pp. 99–100. In all true Work, were it but true hand-labor, there is something of divineness. Sweat of the brow; and up from that to sweat of the brain, sweat of the heart; which includes all Kepler calculations, Newton meditations, all Sciences, all spoken Epics, all acted Heroisms, Martyrdoms,—up to that "Agony of bloody sweat" which all men have called divine! Oh, brother, this is the noblest thing yet discovered under God's sky. Who art thou that complainest of thy life of toil? Complain not. Look up, my wearied brother: see thy fellow workman there in God's eternity.—Carlyle, quoted, *Socialism and Unsocialism*, p. 122. The conditions of human life on this planet are likely to be always pretty stern, although we make them sterner than they need be by the widespread desire to grasp without giving, to consume without producing, to live out of other people if we can. What mankind needs, above all, is such inspiration as shall furnish us with an impetus to a raising of the general level of mankind, and which shall yet convince us that life is more than meat and the body than raiment. How shall we derive such inspiration save from the religious conception of life, as furnishing, not a theater for enjoyment, but opportunities for service? It is not without significance that nearly all the important books of our time deal with the social problem. It is even more significant that the writers of those books are compelled to address themselves to the religious and ethical problem.—London *Daily Chronicle*, quoted in *The Outlook*, February 9, 1895.

54. The cause of the wage-earner has been presented as too much a mere matter of victuals. . . The problem of all mankind is not merely how to produce and distribute wealth, but how to attain largeness and fulness of life.—Small and Vincent, *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, p. 78. The true veins of wealth are purple—and not in Rock, but in Flesh. . . A man's hand may be full of invisible gold, and the wave of it, or the grasp, shall do more than another's with a shower of bullion. The nominative of *valorem* is *valor*.—Ruskin, *Unto This Last*, essay ii: 4.

55. His hundred Thousand-pound Notes, if there be nothing other, are to me but as the hundred Scalps in a Choctaw wigwam.—Carlyle, quoted in *Socialism and Unsocialism*, p. 111.

> "Here and there a cotter's babe is royal born by right divine;
> Here and there my lord is lower than his oxen or his swine."
> —TENNYSON: *Locksley Hall Sixty Years After*.

56. The characteristic American vice is covetousness; not avarice, which is a mere desire to possess, but covetousness, which is a desire

to possess more and ever more. What are the virtues we praise? Not in our pulpits on Sunday, but in our newspapers, our daily conversation, our practical emulation. . . The quality of character that makes success in the rough-and-tumble game of life is the quality we really praise. American life is a football game, and though sometimes we wax indignant over foul play and slugging, on the whole we still keep at the front the captain who wins, and deafen with our cheers the eleven who make the score, nor inquire particularly how they have made it. So we measure the merchant by the money he has made; the lawyer by the fees he receives; the newspaper by the total of its circulation and its advertising; the college by the bigness of its endowment: and even the church by the size of its pew-rentals and the wealth of its congregation. —*The Outlook.*

57. You will say, "Charity is greater than justice." Yes, it is greater; it is the summit of justice—it is the temple of which justice is the foundation. But you can't have the top without the bottom.—Ruskin, *Crown of Wild Olive*, lecture i. Labor leaders, pleading for justice in place of charity, point out that the latter often goes to the rich employer, who takes advantage of the cheap lodging house and other charitable relief that reduce the expenses of living, as employers did of the old English poor law, to cut down wages and so turn the stream of charitable gifts into his own mill-race. Charitable institutions that manufacture goods at a less cost than private manufactories can make them and pay a living wage are using orphans to make orphans, magdalens to make magdalens, paupers to make paupers, prisoners to make prisoners, charity to overthrow justice. On this subject see Owen's *Economics of Herbert Spencer*, pp. 18 ff.

58. Karl Marx (p. 135) notes that if a workman, who, doing a normal amount of work, can continue to work thirty years, is, by overwork, cut down to ten years, he has been robbed of two-thirds of his labor power, and so of two-thirds of his life wages.—Some treasures are heavy with human tears, as an ill-stored harvest with untimely rain.—Ruskin, *Unto This Last*, essay ii.

59. That is, as one has put it, spending all their strength in loading the cannon, and giving almost no thought to aiming and firing.

60. It is the solution of the industrial question and not philanthropy which is needed, could the world but find the key to that infinitely complicated problem.—Dr. Mary B. Damon, New York College Settlement.

61. Words of Sir Philip Sydney, when wounded, declining water in favor of a wounded soldier near at hand.—The market may have its martyrdoms as well as the pulpit; and trade its heroisms, as well as war. —Ruskin, in *Unto This Last.*

62. There are a few mitigations of the hardships of labor that can be accomplished by local agreements and local laws, such as early closing, the Saturday half-holiday, and profit-sharing, the first two of which would seem to entail no financial loss when the merchants of a whole city act together, while the last can be safely undertaken singly. James M. Gamble of Cincinnati, in 1894, added twelve per cent. to the year's wages of his employees on the profit-sharing plan. For statistics of profit-sharing in 1886 see Hon. Carroll D. Wright's First Annual Report as United States Commissioner of Labor. See also the standard book on the subject, *Profit-Sharing*, by Mr. N. P. Gilman, who states that, in 1893, there were three hundred firms in Europe and the United States

practising profit-sharing. See also Ely's *Economics*, Chautauqua edition, ch. v, and Roads' *Christ Enthroned in the Industrial World*, 157 ff.

63. On free public baths, see *Christianity Practically Applied*, 349 f. On the Baltimore and Ohio Relief Association, organized by the company to provide insurance for sickness, old age, and death by joining its gifts with those of its employees,—one of the oldest and best of such associations,—see Behrends' *Socialism and Christianity*, 144–155. Send also to Pennsylvania Railroad for description of another model association on a similar basis.

64. A "Christian Stewards' League" is proposed, in accordance with recent suggestions of Mr. Gladstone. The movement in this country originates in Chicago, whence literature may be obtained of Mr. Thomas Kane. A pledge is desired, thereby illustrating anew a recent editorial in *Zion's Herald* on "Pledges as Agencies in Practical Christian Work." The proposed pledge is as follows: "We covenant with the Lord, and with those who enter with us into the fellowship of this consecration, that we will devote a *proportionate part* of our income—not less than one-tenth—to benevolent and religious purposes." The neglected "talent" of the unfaithful steward in Christ's parable was money—the very talent whose powerful service is most likely to be neglected in these days.

65. If your work is first with you and your fee second, work is your master, and the lord of work, who is God. But if your fee is first with you, and your work second, fee is your master, and the lord of fee, who is the Devil.—*Communism of John Ruskin*, p. 131.

66. The "unemployed" question is the sphinx which will devour us if we cannot answer her riddle.—*Fabian Essays*, p. 56. It is often stated that one million men are out of work, ordinarily, in the United States. This is the careful estimate of the U. S. Bureau of Labor for a year of depression—1885. See statement following in this lecture that the number was not more than that even in 1893, after the exodus of out-of-works to the farms and foreign lands.

What the wage-earner wants is not so much larger annual earnings, but a regular receipt of income in place of the present uncertainty.—Professor R. T. Ely, *Socialism*, etc., 276. Massachusetts labor statistics show that, even in a good year, one-third of the wage-earners are out of work one-third of the time.—The first requisite of a good vagrant law is to recognize the three classes into which vagrants are divided. The next is that it should lay down rules for separating these classes and dealing with them according to their deserts. The tramp element is composed of—first, men who are willing or anxious to work; second, men who will work if they have to, but prefer to depend on begging; and, lastly, men who will not work under any circumstances short of physical compulsion. The German method of dealing with these classes has the reputation of being the best and most successful in the world. The first class is assisted to find work; the second is put in a workhouse where, under mild discipline, a few industries are carried on, and attempts are made to secure the men employment outside; and the third is put in another workhouse where the strictest discipline is maintained, and the rule is enforced that a man who will not work shall not eat.—*San Francisco Examiner*. Draft off those of bad character to special institutions, and leave the almshouse as a home for the unfortunate.—Warner, *American Charities*, 295.

67. *The San Francisco Call*, which is a stanch advocate of the McKinley tariff, says, in the course of an article upon the financial situation

in Australia: "It will be remembered that the first patterings of the financial storm from which this country is now suffering were heard in Australia in 1890, and the storm fairly burst forth in the following year —two years before its effects were sympathetically felt in the United States." Professor Ely, in common with other economists, considers the tariff only a minor issue. See his *Economics*, Chautauqua edition, 283–284. Most interesting material for studies in logic and statistics is afforded by the reasons given in 1893 for hard times, and in 1895 for the return of good times, bearing on tariff, silver, elections, etc.

68. In *Christian Work*, October 4, 1894.

69. No remedy for the hard times would be more radical than a transfer of the unemployed multitudes of our town population to productive labor on the farms.—Rev. Dr. Washington Gladden, *Working People and Their Employers*, 68. See also Behrends, *Socialism and Christianity*, 136–137. Write to Secretary of State for Vermont at its capital for particulars of the successful Swedish colonization of its abandoned farms, a practical contribution to the double problem—the depletion of the country, the repletion of the city.

70. *Progress and Poverty* lays the idleness and consequent want of the unemployed to the fact that they are denied access to land (pp. 195, 197). This may be true as to city land, and of farm land speculatively withheld from use, but it surely is not true of the numerous vacant farms that wait for tenants to work them on shares or pay for them by instalments. Those who farmed for wealth have been disappointed, but the farmer is at least sure of a living.

71. See Kidd's *Social Evolution*, 8.

72. See in Appendix a letter by Professor R. T. Ely showing the danger of overestimating such facts as the one here stated, to which may be added the following by a writer in *The Kingdom* of October 26, 1894: "We have heard the past summer of the army of the unemployed. We have seen detachments of them camped in our river bottoms. Yet it is the general testimony among farmers in the West that never has there been a season when it was so difficult to obtain men to work on their ranches as the last." It would be an interesting line for inductive studies to ascertain by inquiries of one hundred people who had migrated from country to city why they came, and put on record also the reasons a hundred of the poor in the city give for not fleeing from the city "wolf" to the shelter of some waiting farm.

73. See later note in this chapter referring to Professors Ely and Commons. Though society does not owe every man a living, it does, no doubt, owe every man an opportunity to make a living somewhere.

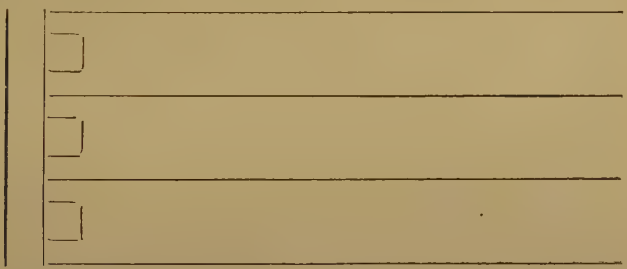
74. On this point see statistics in Rev. Dr. Josiah Strong's *New Era*.

75. Germany and Hungary, with government railroads, encourage residence in the rural districts by cheap fares for workmen; and Australian cities owning street cars add to the inducements free transportation for school children. See Ely's *Socialism*, etc., 277. There is promise of further aid in the bicycle, which carried a school teacher, in a Cleveland race that I witnessed, 25 miles in an hour and 10 minutes; also in the new gasoline motor for road carriages which, in 1895, in a race at Paris, went 750 miles at the rate of 16 miles per hour. Living in the suburbs will be promoted by all such inventions.

76. General William Booth's Salvation Army Social Scheme (30 cents to 111 Reade Street, New York, will purchase a full report) is, in brief,

as follows : (1) Temporary shelters providing food and lodgings for all the needy who are willing to pay in work ; (2) employment bureaus to secure permanent employment ; (3) Household Salvage Brigade to collect and utilize waste scraps of food, clothing, books, etc.; (4) transfer of unemployed to farm colonies ; (5) rescue work, such as "Slum Sisters," traveling hospitals, prison-gate brigade, watch-care of drunkards, open doors for fallen women, industrial schools, asylums for moral lunatics ; (6) miscellaneous assistance in the form of improved lodgings, model suburban villages, the poor man's bank, the poor man's lawyer, matrimonial bureau, cooperative schemes for purchase or production. These facts are mostly from General Booth's *Darkest England and the Way Out*. The Christian churches, separately or together, should do, or at least see that other agencies do, most, if not all, of these humane services.

77. The plan adopted by Kildonan, a Scotch colony in the Hudson Bay settlement, though probably suggested by the proximity of Indians, would be a good plan by which to escape the loneliness of farm life. The homes of the colony are all on the river on adjoining house lots, from which the narrow farms of the same width run far back into the country, thus :—



Another favorable form would be to build the farm village around a circle, so constituting a "Hub" in more than a Boston sense, with the fences of the ever-widening farms stretching back like spokes of the wheel. The electric street railways are likely to help the movement back to the country by enabling the poor to travel thirty miles from the city in thirty minutes for ten or fifteen cents, so combining the privileges of city and country. "Imagine now," says Rev. G. A. Jackson, "an ancient Israelite addressing these old families of Massachusetts, who would fain find some life worthier of their Puritan stock. 'Go back,' he might say, 'to your ancestral farms ; not to find riches there, but to make on them your homes, and to live there that nobler life. There set such examples of plain living and high thinking as will be worth more to the working families of the State than to double their incomes. Then urge the Commonwealth to make possible similar homes for all its families.' This would be practicable ; for there is agricultural land enough in Massachusetts to afford to each of our four hundred and twenty thousand families nine acres. The interest on the cost to the State of resuming and reapportioning these lands, as indicated, would entail a tax of but about two dollars on the thousand of our present assessed valuation." (Written in 1890.)

78. Those who wish to study cooperation, which has hitherto been too much confined to cities, should consult the following literature: the writings of Mazzini, Professor Cairnes, and Dr. Washington Gladden, all of whom seem to regard cooperation as the chief panacea for the woes and wrongs of labor. See Gladden's *Working People*, etc., 44 ff., 206, 208 ff., 234 ff.; Mazzini's *Duties of Man*, 127. The status of British cooperation in 1894 is given in a valuable article by Rev. Dr. James M. Ludlow in the *Atlantic Monthly* for January, 1895, which shows the unquestionable success the plan has achieved in cooperative production as well as distribution. The standard guide to cooperation is the *Manual for Cooperators*, edited by Thomas Hughes and E. V. Neale, and sold at 1*s.* (25 cents) by the Central Cooperative Board, Manchester, England.

79. On German labor colonies, see *Forum*, 1892. On Holland, see *The Voice*, October 4, 1894. In New Zealand the Government has founded and fostered farm colonies under the name of village settlements. The Government leases an acre or less in the village and one hundred acres or less outside to any suitable applicant. See Ely's *Socialism*, etc., 305.

80. What the *Tribune* advocates is, simply and solely, such an organization of society as will secure to every man the opportunity of uninterrupted and profitable labor, and to every child nourishment and culture. —Horace Greeley, Sotheran's *Horace Greeley*, pp. 212–213. "If any man will not work neither shall he eat." . . The converse is equally imperative—"if any man does work he has a right to eat," and that right certainly can involve no less than such a quantity and quality of food as is demanded to make good the waste of nervous tissue, and protect the body from disease and the mind from depression and despair.—Behrends, *Socialism and Christianity*, p. 151. On workmen's food see also pp. 120–123, 149–152. Professor J. R. Commons, in *Distribution of Wealth* (see also his *Social Reform in the Church*, 35), says: "The rights to life and liberty are practically denied to laborers in our day by virtue of the denial of the right to employment. There is, therefore, pressing upon us the claim for recognition of this new and higher right, belonging to man as a man, by virtue of the very dignity of the manhood that is in him. The claims of justice rebel at the dictates of laws which have reduced the earth and all the opportunities for livelihood to the private possession of one-third of the race, and thus compel the other two-thirds to be either wage slaves or paupers. The right to work for every man that is willing is the next great human right to be defined and enforced by the law. . . This is twofold: 1. The right to security in the tenure of employment against arbitrary discharge, so long as one proves efficient and honest. 2. The right of the unemployed to have work furnished by the Government. . . But how is this right to be enforced? Its enforcement in the public service is by means of public judicial tribunals having power to try every case on its merits; and in private service we may learn that it can be enforced in the same way, if we compare the history of the rights to life and liberty. . . The new courts that shall enforce the right to employment are courts of arbitration, created by Government and empowered to compel employers to submit to investigation and to suffer punishment for violating the right of employees to work. No man is to be discharged for any cause except inefficiency and dishonesty. Wages, hours of labor, conditions of work, are to be adjudicated by the courts." See on same Ely's *Socialism*, etc., 332. In the Congress of 1894–95 a petition was presented from the New

England Industry League asking for an amendment to the Constitution affirming the right of every one to be employed, also that Government would provide farms and factories where the unemployed may at all times obtain work. See on same Flint's *Socialism*, 404 ff.

81. The Western farmers who, many years ago, got their land for little or nothing, are now growing old. They are renting their farms to men who will live on less than the full produce of the land rather than not live at all, and they are moving into the large towns and the cities to enjoy life, educate their daughters, and start their sons in business. Even so far West as Minnesota and the Dakotas this is going on ; in Illinois and Wisconsin it is a common thing.—F. P. Powers, *Lippincott's Magazine*, February, 1895.

82. See articles on "Relief for the Unemployed in American Cities," in *Review of Reviews*, January, February, 1894. The Brooklyn Board of Charities has provided for those whose cry is for work, and as a work test for all able-bodied applicants for aid, two well-equipped laundries, two large workrooms for unskilled and unrecommended women, and two woodyards for able-bodied men—all under the control of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities.—*Charities Review*, 2 : 328. The municipal lodging house is in effect a cheap hotel, where the lodgers, for a certain limited time, pay for their board by work. Where the experiment has been tried as a charitable enterprise or otherwise, it has, so far as I know [in Baltimore, for a fine example], always resulted in banishing the tramps and simplifying the problem of homelessness by eliminating the frauds.—Jacob A. Riis, in *Handbook of Sociological Information*, p. 78. See also Professor A. G. Warner, *American Charities*, 189. See article (*Charities Review*, 2 : 226) on "The Parisian Municipal Refuge for Working Women," whose object is "to give every working woman a place to lay her head when she finds herself destitute, and an opportunity to put herself once more in a good position." There are many places where there are no refuges except for "fallen women." General Booth tells a grim story of a helpless woman rejected at one of these because she had not fallen, who returned an hour or two later saying that she had become eligible.

83. Professor A. G. Warner has suggested, as a rule of municipalities, the doing of public work in times of industrial depression rather than during times of general prosperity.—*Handbook of Sociological Information*, p. 51.

84. The [private] employment agency is the vilest vulture that ever preyed upon a decaying body.—Quoted from an agent of United States Labor Bureau, Ely's *Socialism*, etc., 331.

85. See description of benevolent loan associations in France, *Charities Review*, 2 : 315. See also same, 340, and Ely's *Socialism*, etc., 333, on such loan bureaus in Germany, Switzerland, and elsewhere. Circulars descriptive of the kindred Penny Provident Fund can be had on application to Charity Organization Society, United Charities Building, New York. *The Outlook*, August 3, 1895, contained latest facts on benevolent loan associations up to that date in an article on "Pawnbroking in Various Countries," by Elbert F. Baldwin.

86. There is no such thing as general overproduction, for more economic goods of all kinds have never been produced than men really need to satisfy their legitimate wants.—Ely, *Outlines of Economics*, Chautauqua edition, 96. See also 237. One of the benefits which socialism

would admittedly secure would be to prevent waste by special overproduction in certain commodities, due to lack of information as to demand and supply. But even now this waste could be largely obviated by a National Bureau of Commerce, if not by an improvement of private commercial agencies.

87. Congress, in March, 1895, ordered the United States Department of Labor to investigate the economic aspects of the drink problem, and, although no special appropriation was made, the commissioner, Hon. Carroll D. Wright, informed me at the time that it would be undertaken in a few months, at the same time furnishing me the exact words of the law and a provisional outline of the investigation as given below. The following is the exact wording of the law: "The Commissioner of Labor is hereby authorized to make an investigation relating to the economic aspects of the liquor problem and to report the results thereof to Congress: provided, however, that such investigation shall be carried on under the regular appropriations made for the Department of Labor." Commissioner Wright informed me that the lines along which a practical investigation can be conducted are something like the following schedule (given in *The Voice* of March 21, 1895): "1. The relation of the liquor problem to the securing of employment: how far do, or may, employers exercise an influence by refusing work to persons who are known to be addicted to the use of intoxicants? The practise of Government officials, large corporations, especially railroads, etc., should be learned. 2. Its relations to different occupations; how far is the use of liquors increased by night work, overwork, exposure to severe weather, etc.? 3. Its relations to irregularity of employment, such as may be caused by employment in trades which work by the season; the interruption of occupation by strikes, commercial crises, etc. 4. Its relations to machinery: how far does the liquor habit prevent the use of fine and highly specialized machinery; and, on the other hand, how far does the nervous strain involved in work with machinery induce the liquor habit? 5. Its relation to the mode and time of paying wages: is the consumption of intoxicants affected by the frequency of payments, by the time of the week at which they are paid, and by the person to whom they are paid? 6. Its relation to working men's budgets in different occupations in different countries, or the ratio between the cost of liquor and the cost of living. 7. Its relations to comforts, luxuries, and pleasures; how far is the liquor habit counteracted by home comforts, good cooking, coffee-houses, music-halls, theaters, outdoor sports, etc.? 8. Its relations to sanitary conditions; how far is it affected by the plentifulness of food, by the ventilation of dwellings and workshops, by good drainage, etc.?"

88. As to above figures, "one-fifth," "one million," see *Voice* tables, May 17, 1894, August 30, 1894.—Considered merely as a question of social economy, of dollars and cents, of tax bills and public convenience generally, the drink question is the question of the day. The tariff wrangle is a mere baby to it.—Professor J. J. McCook of Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. Another economic phase of the drink problem is the increasing frequency with which railroads and other business corporations are adopting the rule of total abstinence for their employees in protection of business interests. See letters of railroad managers in *The Voice*, April 23, 1891. Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, ex-mayor of New York City, who is by no means a Prohibitionist, says: "The city of New York expends upon the police and courts annually a sum equal to the

interest paid by the savings banks upon the enormous accumulation of $300,000,000 now deposited within their vaults. In other words, the liquor saloon absorbs a sum annually . . . through the agency of public taxation [besides the vast sum spent for drink directly] equal to the income on the savings of the great working classes of this city."—*Charities Review*, 2: 309.—During the splendid enforcement of the laws against Sunday saloons in New York City in the summer of 1895, *The New York World* dolefully proclaimed that the brewers were losing $250,000 on each Sabbath, on which *The Voice* queried, "Who has that $250,000 now?"

89. That the situation is one involving danger, and very great danger, to the favored classes in the future, provided considerable changes in government and industry do not take place, cannot, in my opinion, be denied. It seems to me that a denial implies a failure to apprehend the nature and force of the social movements which have taken place during the past generation.—Professor R. T. Ely, *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1: 444.

90. Vice and misery . . . follow . . . because land is treated as private property. . . Social maladjustments condemn large classes to poverty and vice. . . The growth of morality consequent upon the diminution of want . . . The rise of wages . . . would soon eliminate from society the thieves, swindlers, and other classes of criminals who spring from an unequal distribution of wealth. . . From whence springs this lust of gain? . . . Does it not spring from the existence of want?—Henry George, *Progress and Poverty*, 245, 317, 325, 327. See also 207, 208, 332, 374. In view of the foregoing we suggest the following unabridged catechism: What is the root of all evil? Want. What will create all virtues? Single tax. Mr. George has forgotten Robert Burns' song of "Honest Poverty," to which he will not leave even the cradle of genius, for he tells us (contrary to the biographers) that the thinkers, the discoverers, the inventors, the organizers, "are born in plenty" (336). Probably Mr. George would not agree with Archdeacon C. J. Wood that "the twofold law of Christ is poverty and labor" (*The Kingdom*, July 12, 1895). The "Anti-Poverty Society," founded by Mr. George on the above grounds, ignored temperance and other kindred "moral reforms." Professor Ely (*Socialism*, etc., 74) remarks that the ethical element plays almost, if not quite, as subordinate a part in the socialism of Karl Marx and his followers as in the Darwinian natural science. . . It makes every social advance—religion and the family, art and literature—depend upon the development of the economic sphere. On p. 34 Professor Ely quotes Frederick Engels as follows: "As soon as there is no longer any social class to be oppressed . . . there will be nothing more to repress." Professor Ely also refers to like views of Herr Bebel and adds (p. 35): "It is not by any means true that all socialists share his optimism in regard to the immediate moral effects of socialism." Graham Wallas says: "Under the justest possible social system we might still have to face all those vices and diseases which are not the direct result of poverty and overwork."—*Fabian Essays*, p. 184. The following bits of current humor are suggestive in this connection:

Kindly gentleman (from True Blue Club)—"And what has brought you to this deplorable condition? Drink—gambling?"

Gentleman of the pavement (spotting his man)—"No, indeed, sir; my misfortunes are entirely attributable to free trade, monometalism,

and the death duties." Immediate relief on generous scale.—*Punch*, London.

"This is the third time you have been brought before me for stealing," said the judge. "Can't you live honestly?"

"Not under de present 'ministration, suh; dar's got ter be a change in national politics fust!"—*The Constitution*, Atlanta.

91. John E. Potter, in *Presbyterian Messenger*.

92. Warner's *American Charities*, 28.

93. Pp. 65–66. See also Professor Ely's tract on *The Relation of Temperance Reform to the Labor Movement*, published by the W. C. T. U. We might add, as the testimony of another expert witness, the following: Professor J. J. McCook of Hartford, the great specialist on tramps, who has studied them thoroughly, says: "Sixty-three per cent. of them are confessedly intemperate," and he adds, "I believe industrial causes have but little to do with pauperism in general or vagabondage in particular."—*Charities Review*, 3: 65. That drunkenness does not recruit alone from the poor, but gets from the ranks of wealth in full proportion, is vividly proclaimed by a writer in the *Contemporary Review* in 1894: "It is no use talking to me about culture and refinement and learning and serious pursuits saving a man from the devouring fiend; for it happens that the fiend nearly always clutches the best and brightest and most promising. Intellect alone is not worth anything as a defensive means against alcohol, and I can convince anybody of that if he will go with me to a common lodging-house, which we can choose at random. Yes, it is the bright and powerful intellects that catch the rot first in too many cases, and that is why I smile at the notion of mere book learning making us any better. If I were to make out a list of the scholars whom I have met starving and in rags, I should make people gape. . . I once shared a pot of four-penny ale with a man who used to earn two thousand pounds a year by coaching at Oxford. He was in a low house near the Waterloo Road, and he died of cold and hunger there. He had been the friend and counselor of statesmen, but the vice from which statesmen squeeze revenue had him by the throat before he knew where he was, and he drifted toward death in a kind of constant dream from which no one ever saw him wake. . . I have seen a tramp on the road—a queer, long-nosed, short-sighted animal—who would read Greek with the book upside down. He was a very fine Latin scholar, and we tried him with Vergil; he could go off at score when he had a single line given him, and he scarcely made a slip, for the poetry seemed ingrained. I have shared a pennyworth of sausage with the brother of a chief-justice, and I have played a piccolo while an ex-incumbent performed a dance which he described, I think, as Pyrrhic." Sir William Vernon Harcourt (quoted in *The Voice*, May 16, 1895) said, in 1895, in a speech on the local veto bill: "It is often said, and said with truth, that what we ought to apply ourselves to is to remedy the social evil of poverty. Is there any man who will deny that one of the greatest causes of poverty is excessive indulgence in drink? This is a question which occupies the minds of the wage-paying and wage-earning classes, and there is nothing which operates so prejudicially on both classes as the evils arising out of drink. If you ask any man having acquaintance with those evils—if you ask successive home secretaries—if you ask the magistrates—they will tell you that one of the principal causes, if not the principal cause, of crime is excessive drinking. There is nothing so destructive of the happiness of

the home, which we all value above all else, as this widespread and desolating misery." As to losses by drink to employers as well as employees, *The Voice*, May 2, 1895, gives statistics to the effect that forty per cent. of railroad accidents are caused by drink. One-ninth of the annual product of the country (*The Voice*, March 11, 1895) goes to support the gin-mills. When the author was in Chicago, in May, 1895, the papers recorded large gifts by business men to the anti-gambling crusade of the Civic Federation, which were said to be prompted not by philanthropy but by self-interest, the losses by peculations of gambling clerks having become a serious matter.

94. Warner's *American Charities*, 60–66.

95. As a contribution to this investigation we record that of 600 cases in a certain inebriate asylum, 450 became inebriates from association or from going with drinking men and indulging in the habit of treating.—*Christian Work*, December 13, 1894.

96. Dr. Hale is the father of all the clubs, including the King's Daughters, that use the mottoes—

> "Look up and not down;
> Look forward and not backward;
> Look out and not in, and
> Lend a hand."

97. The leading article in *Lend a Hand*, June, 1894, says: "Every one who is engaged in any of the departments of philanthropic work, whether it be classed under the head of charities or correction, is conscious, at the bottom of his heart, that the questions relating to temperance and intemperance are the foundation questions."

98. It is amazing to hear bright thinkers arguing as if poverty were always due to the fault of the people who suffer it.—President E. B. Andrews, *Wealth and Moral Law*, 88.

99. But it has been suggested that Government might appropriately make some compensation to destroyed trades in such cases, in connection with its patent system, out of a royalty on the profits of patents. That valuable patents might properly be restricted in charges and required to pay a royalty to Government, is suggested by remarks of Benjamin Kidd, *Social Evolution*, 266–167, and also by the following on the "unearned increment" in the patent, from Edward Bellamy, quoted in Kidd's *Social Evolution*, 267: "All that a man produces to-day more than did his cave-dwelling ancestors, he produces by virtue of the accumulated achievements, inventions, and improvements of the intervening generations, together with the social and industrial machinery which is their legacy."

100. The *Fabian Essays*, writing of the Church of England in 1831, when British democracy was coming to birth, declare: "The Church, once a universal democratic organization of international fraternity, had become a mere *appanage* of the landed gentry" (p. 10).

101. Christ . . . is often lauded in the same breath in which the churches are condemned.—Ely, *Social Aspects of Christianity*, 76. *The Outlook*, in commenting on John Burns' address at a public dinner in New York, said: "At the dinner he reached the highest pitch of eloquence while picturing what the work of the Church would be if it became the work of its Master. The cheers that came from his labor audience at the name of Christ exceeded any expression of emotion the present writer has ever witnessed in a Christian congregation."

102. In medieval gilds the employers and employees in each trade cooperated in one organization devoted to the interests of the whole trade. The Southern Railway Company set a good precedent in February, 1895, when its employees demanded a restoration of former rates, in issuing a full and courteous statement of its financial condition to its engineers, firemen, conductors, and trainmen.—The best available document on the prevention of strikes by permanent boards of conciliation, appointed jointly by employers and their employees, is entitled "An Example of Arbitration," and may be had free of *The Voice*, N. Y. It is the story of the New York bricklayers' arbitration committee. Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell, who wrote the foregoing story, has since written again on the subject (*The Voice*, August 1, 1895) to deny that boards of conciliation are declining in favor in England. She refers for their methods to *The Contemporary Review*, May, 1890.

103. The program was as follows:

I. Regulation of the work in mines.

1. Is work underground to be prohibited (A) for children under a certain age? (B) for women?

2. Is there to be a limitation of the duration of work in such mines in which the work is associated with special danger to the health?

3. Is it possible in the general interest, in order to secure regularity in the drawing out of coal, to subject the work in coal mines to international regulations?

II. Regulation of Sunday labor.

1. Is Sunday labor—subject to cases of necessity—to be prohibited as a rule?

2. What exceptions are to be authorized should such a prohibition be issued?

3. Are these exceptions to be defined by international agreement, by law, or in an administrative measure?

III. Regulation of children's labor.

1. Shall children be excluded from industrial work up to a certain age?

2. How is the age up to which this exclusion should take place to be defined?

3. Is it to be the same for every branch of industry, or is it to vary in each branch?

4. What restrictions of hours of work and kinds of occupation are to be prescribed for those children allowed to participate in industrial work?

IV. Regulation of work for young persons.

1. Shall the industrial work of young persons who have passed the age of childhood be subject to restrictions?

2. Up to what age shall these restrictions be made?

3. What restrictions are to be prescribed?

4. Are modifications of the general regulations to be prescribed for individual branches of industry?

V. Regulation of the work of women.

1. Shall the work of married women be restricted in the daytime or at night?

2. Shall the industrial work of all women, married and single, be subjected to certain restrictions?

3. What restrictions are recommended in this case?

4. Are exceptions from the general regulations to be prescribed for individual branches of industry, and, if so, for what branches?

VI. The carrying out of the rules adopted by the conference.

1. Shall regulations be made for carrying out and superintending the provisions agreed upon?

2. Shall conferences of the representatives of the governments interested be held at intervals, and what shall be the tasks set before them?

104. Professor Bemis declared, in 1894, that he found among workmen "a growing disposition to adopt wise and conciliatory measures when employers are willing to come half-way."—*Handbook of Sociological Information*, p. 41.

105. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Oberlin, O., July, 1892; reprint at ten cents each.

106. John Rae, in *Eight Hours of Work*, seems to prove that, in many cases, a reduction of work to eight hours has not decreased production, so removing the chief objection of the capitalist, while, at the same time, invalidating the argument of labor leaders that such reduction of hours would provide work for a larger number of workmen. He holds that if each man was to lessen his product it would lessen the entire supply, raise prices without raising wages, and injure rather than improve the laborer's condition. His hope is rather in improved machinery, in more abundant and cheaper products, resulting in higher wages and a higher standard of living. The one point as to which those reformers who are the best friends of the working men would inquire most diligently is what is done with the two leisure hours. If they are spent in additional reveling, or even in lounging about, instead of increasing their knowledge or efficiency or value as men, it would be just as well for them to work ten hours as eight. Research seems to show, however, that a great improvement takes place at once in the workman's aims and methods. With some vitality left from his short day, instead of seeking the saloon as he did when exhausted by long hours, he seeks the open air, taking an allotment, one or two acres of land, and raising his own vegetables, or, if younger, joining baseball or cricket clubs.

107. On the high grade of intellectual ability developed among labor leaders see Fairbairn, *Religion in History*, etc., pp. 44 ff.

108. I see no escape from the Church's responsibility to make deep and triumphant study of these grave problems now so earnestly and angrily discussed, and to teach the results from the pulpit and in every other possible way. . . Our Sunday-schools might be utilized in that interest.—Professor E. B. Andrews, D. D., LL. D., *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1: 349. The suggestion that social problems should be studied in the Sabbath-schools is underscored by the fact that a majority of Protestant criminals and slaves of the vices were once members of the Evangelical Sabbath-schools. See proofs in my *Temperance Century*, 136; also Clokey's *Dying at the Top*, 41, where it is stated that, of 3682 prisoners in Allegheny Co., Pa., in 1886, all but 107 had been in Christian (?) homes or Sabbath-schools or both. At the Philadelphia Free Breakfast three-fourths raised their hands on the question, "How many have been Sabbath-school scholars?" A Bible class undertaking the study of practical Christian sociology should take a hint from the custom of Professor M. Cheyson of Paris and Professor Lindsay of the University of Pennsylvania, who take their classes on excursions to places of sociological interest, such as jails, asylums, etc., where the superintendent of the institution makes an address and answers questions as the basis for subsequent explanation by the teacher of the scientific bearing of the facts learned.

LECTURE IV.

1. The failure of communistic experiments in the United States and elsewhere is often urged as an objection against modern socialism. But in reality these experiments . . . throw little light upon the socialism of to-day. . . Modern socialism does not preach a doctrine of separation, but aims to change the whole structure of society.—Professor R. T. Ely, *Socialism*, etc., 182, 184. Communities were established through the influence of Owen and Fourier, and others, 1826–46. Those attempted in the United States are described in Noyes' *History of American Socialisms*, and more concisely in Sotheran's *Horace Greeley*. These separated colonies were but the skirmish-line of socialism, whose advocates now recognize the necessity of something more than local, or even national action in order to its adequate realization. Of the local Utopias, which are still being attempted, despite past failures, and are often cited as samples of socialism, Sidney Webb says in *Fabian Tract No.* 51, (p. 10): "The aim of the modern socialist movement, I take it, is not to enable this or that comparatively free person to lead an ideal life, but to loosen the fetters of the millions who toil in our factories and mines, and who cannot possibly be moved to Freeland or Topolobampo."

2. The word "revolution" is often used in the sense of evolution. The *Fabian Essays* declare: "By 'revolution' is to be understood, of course, not violence, but a complete change of system" (p. xiii). See also p. 44. "Socialists as well as individualists realize that important organic changes can only be (1) democratic, and thus acceptable to a majority of the people, and prepared for in the minds of all; (2) gradual, and thus causing no dislocation, however rapid may be the rate of progress; (3) not regarded as immoral by the mass of the people, and thus not subjectively demoralizing to them; and (4) in this country [Great Britain] at any rate, constitutional and peaceful" (p. 9). See also pp. 91, 163, 186–187, 225–226, 250. Frederick Engels, in the introduction to the English translation of *Das Kapital*, says that its author, Karl Marx, was led by his lifelong studies to the conclusion that England was the only country in Europe where the inevitable social revolution might be effected entirely by peaceful and legal means, although he expected the rich would subsequently rebel.

3. Uncivilized man finds things; semi-civilized man "raises" things; civilized man makes things. . . Man is least dependent when [as a savage] he wants least, cares least, has least, knows least, and is least. . . Progress is . . . a passage from independence to dependence.—Ely, *Outlines of Economics*, 3, 7, 73, 74. This book of Professor Ely is especially valuable for its concise historic study of the development of industry from its crudest forms to its present complexity.

4. The old-time argument that the farmers of the United States, with homes and lands of their own, would be an effectual barrier against socialism, is not heard in these days of Populists, whose mortgaged homes give them little feeling of landlordism.

5. The writer's statement that a reduction of hours to eight cannot be made except by cooperation among competitors is based on the assumption that the benefits conferred upon the body, mind, and heart of the average working man, by a reduction of hours from 10, or 9, to 8, would not be sufficient in the case of "machine minders," at any rate, probably not even in most cases where a man's own muscle and mind are his chief

"power" to make the product of muscle, or mind, or machine, for the shorter hours equal to what it had been for the longer. We are aware that neither the fear of decreased production nor of increased vice was verified in the reduction of work to ten hours (see Marx's *Capital*, 131–132, Ely's *Economics*, 290), but as both strength and skill are more and more transfered to machines, the shortening of hours has less and less influence upon quantity and quality of work. We quote Rae elsewhere (see "Eight-hour Law," in alphabetical index) as claiming that in some cases the reduction to eight hours has not decreased the product, but it is yet to be shown whether or not it would cause such a reduction in most cases. The writer favors an eight-hour law, but not by separate State action, unless it can be shown conclusively that the employers and employees of such a State will not lose by competition with longer hours in other States. Massachusetts manufacturers, as we show elsewhere, claim that the national government has power to pass such a law for all employees as it has already passed for its own.

6. According to the annual report of the Bureau of Statistics of Pennsylvania, just published, the strikes last year numbered fifty-three, about twice as many as took place in the previous year. Not one of these strikes was successful, the number engaged in them was seventeen thousand, and the average loss in wages was about eighty-five dollars.—*Christian Advocate*, July 19, 1894.

7. The fact that capital, if unjustly treated in one State, can flee to another, is a considerable check upon excessive anti-capital legislation.

8. A number of Populists, Socialists, and Prohibitionists met in New York City on the eve of Washington's Birthday, 1894, and adopted a platform and constitution for a Commonwealth Club, to unite the reform elements for political action. The platform adopted is as follows :

PLATFORM FOR COMMONWEALTH CLUB.

"Differing as we may upon minor details, we, the members of the Commonwealth Club, favor united political action to secure the following :

"The telegraphs, telephones, railroads, and mines should be owned and operated by the State ; the street cars, water, gas, and electric light plants should be owned and operated by the municipalities, and no public employee should be engaged or discharged for political reasons.

"The currency of the country should be issued by the Federal Government alone, and not by private individuals or corporations.

"To abolish the saloon, the liquor traffic, so far as demanded, should be conducted by the State without profit.

"The land is the rightful heritage of all the people, and no tenure should hold without use and occupancy.

"Machinery is the product of the cumulative thought of the past, and should not be monopolized against public interest.

"The ideal of the future is the collective ownership and operation by the people of all the means of production and distribution.

"To secure these ends, we demand the initiative, referendum, and imperative mandate."

The Independent Labor Party of England, whose object is "the collective ownership and control of the means of production, distribution, and exchange," has as its present program ;

1. Restriction by law of the working day to eight hours.
2. Abolition of overtime, piece work, and the prohibition of the employment of children under fourteen years of age.
3. Provision for the sick, disabled, aged, widows and orphans; the necessary funds to be obtained by a tax upon unearned incomes.
4. Free, unsectarian, primary, secondary, and university education.
5. Remunerative work for the unemployed.
6. Taxation to extinction of unearned incomes.
7. The substitution of arbitration for war, and the consequent disarmament of the nations.

The proposed basis of union for Prohibitionists, Populists, and other reform parties, adopted at National Reform Conference, in Prohibition Park, Staten Island, June 28 to July 3, 1895, is as follows:

"1. Direct Legislation, the Initiative and the Referendum in national, State, and local matters; the Imperative Mandate and Proportional Representation.

"2. When any branch of legitimate business becomes a monopoly in the hands of a few against the interests of the many, that industry should be taken possession of, on just terms, by the municipality, the State, or the nation, and administered by the people.

"3. The election of president and vice-president and of United States senators by direct vote of the people, and also of all civil officers as far as practicable.

"4. Equal suffrage without distinction of sex.

"5. As the land is the rightful heritage of the people, no tenure should hold without use and occupancy.

"6. Prohibition of the liquor traffic for beverage purposes, and governmental control of the sale for medicinal, scientific, and mechanical uses.

"7. All money—paper, gold, and silver—should be issued by the national government only, and made legal tender for all payments, public or private, on future contracts, and in amount adequate to the demands of business.

"8. The free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of 16 to 1."

9. What is called the socialistic trend in court decisions has been very rapidly developed of late, and although some of these decisions are adverse to labor's claims, more of them are adverse to the assumptions of capital, and most of them defend the public in its right to have public commercial enterprises managed with primary reference not to private, but public interests. One of the latest of these decisions was that of Judge Gaynor on the Brooklyn strike, of which a summary and discussion may be found in the *Literary Digest*, issues of February, 1895. One of the earliest and highest of these decisions is that of the United States Supreme Court, case of Munn *vs.* Illinois, the opinion being written by Chief Justice Waite: "When one devotes his property to a use in which the public has an interest, he, in effect, grants to the public an interest in that use, and must submit to be controlled by the public for the common good, to the extent of the interest he has created." It is significant in this connection that the New Jersey Legislature, in 1895, passed a bill making judgeships elective, supposably on the ground that judges named by the executive were too much in sympathy with corporations. The bill was defeated by the Governor's veto.

10. In 1769, the year that James Watt invented the steam-engine, Napoleon and Wellington were born, which reminds us that

"Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war."

More influential upon the destiny of nations than Waterloo was the harnessing of water, transformed to steam, to the forces of production.

11. The machines invented between 1750 and 1784 are enumerated in *Fabian Essays*, pp. 47, 48. Workmen became what *Fabian Essays* call "dependent machine-minders." The First Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, 1886, shows in detail how men have been displaced by machinery. The same, condensed, in *Fabian Essays*, p. 54 f.—To do the work accomplished in 1886 in the United States by power machinery and on the railways would have required men representing a population of 172,500,000, whereas the real population was under 60,000,000—that is, 4,000,000 with machinery did what would have required 21,000,000 without.—Ely's *Socialism*, etc., 139. See also his *Economics*, Chautauqua edition, 19, note. In 1887 the Berlin Bureau of Statistics estimated that the steam-engines of the world were doing the work of 1,000,000,000 men—three times the working population of the world. See also Strong's *Our Country*, 122.

12. *The Industrial Revolution of the Eighteenth Century* is discussed from an altruistic standpoint in lectures on that subject by Arnold Toynbee. See also Ely's *Outlines of Economics* on the same.

13. Hon. Abram S. Hewitt says of the ante-factory period in England: "I do not pretend to say that the general condition of society was either satisfactory or commendable, or that the convulsion with which it was overthrown was not necessarily inevitable; but what I do say is that there was no large proletarian class without a home and abiding place, and for whose care and sustenance no one was responsible."—*Charities Review*, 2: 306. For the darker side of the picture see Pigeon's *Old World Questions and New World Answers*, p. 254, quoted in Behrends, *Socialism and Christianity*, pp. 222–223.

14. To put political power in the hands of men embittered and degraded by poverty is to tie firebrands to foxes and turn them loose amid the standing corn. . . Between democratic ideas and the aristocratic adjustments of society there is an irreconcilable conflict.—Henry George, *Progress and Poverty*, 381, 396. The economic side of the democratic idea is socialism.—*Fabian Essays*, 9. Industrial self-government is a very convenient and accurate definition of nationalism.—Edward Bellamy, quoted, Ely's *Socialism*, 23. We must go logically on and democratize our industrial institutions.—Owen's *Economics of Herbert Spencer*, p. 38. See on same Ely's *Economics*, Chautauqua edition, 200.

15. Karl Marx (*Capital*, 388, note) cites evidence that he was not a Christian in belief. Whatever was true of the man, his system was atheistic in the strict sense, without God—that is, it left God out except as impersonal "law," or, in modern phrase, it was agnostic in the sense of ignoring God.

16. The necessity for some slight and occasional restraints upon industrial liberty he admitted.

17. Two conceptions are woven into every argument of the *Wealth of Nations*—the belief in the supreme value of individual liberty and the conviction that man's self-love is God's providence; that the individual,

in pursuing his own interest, is promoting the welfare of all.—Arnold Toynbee, *Industrial Revolution*, ch. ii. At the beginning of this century competition was almost universally considered a sort of divinely appointed instrumentality for the fixing of prices in a just manner.—President E. B. Andrews, *Wealth and Moral Law*, 32. Professor Ely (*Outlines of Economics*, 31) thus states of the central idea of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*: "Men are by nature free and equal; the law should not establish artificial inequalities among them. What men need in business is not protection but liberty. Under free competition each man seeks his own interest, and, in seeking his own interest, promotes, as a rule [as Utilitarianism teaches], the best interests of society." On p. 43 the "central doctrine" is again stated, thus: "Not benevolence but self-interest would regulate men's relations for the general good. . . This theory implied, if it did not assert, that, in the economic world, there was little need of a moral law." In a footnote, p. 31, Professor Ely mentions the fact that Adam Smith recognizes important exceptions to his rule of industrial liberty, but "the impression which the book produced," he adds, "was in favor of the abolition of legal restrictions." Although Adam Smith held to the selfish utilitarian theory of ethics, he was not a professed disciple of that school, as were nearly all his British successors in the leadership of political economy. In another note, on p. 35, Professor Ely calls attention to the fact that the labor laws against which Adam Smith declaims were laws against labor. On p. 50 the failure and abandonment in England of the theory of non-interference of the State in industry having been shown, the conclusion is stated that "the Creator . . . has made impossible an equilibrium of balanced selfishness among men." Utilitarianism, which is egoism, has failed. Let Altruism try its hand.

18. The police (*laissez-faire*) theory of government limits its province to the protection of person and property against force and fraud. See John Stuart Mill, *Political Economy*, bk. v, ch. ii, § 1. Edmund Burke, defending the police theory of government against the paternal, said it was the whole business of government to see that twelve honest men were put in every jury box. Macaulay spoke against what he called the "odious principle of paternal government," but advocated paternalism in his great speech on the ten-hour bill. We shall presently see how odious, even odorous, the police theory of government became before it died with the last century.

19. The tyranny of corporations, which grew naturally from conditions of "industrial freedom," was as grievous as any tyranny ever established by government agency.—Professor H. C. Adams, *Relation of the State to Industrial Action*, 13.

20. Liberty, I am told, is a Divine thing. Liberty, when it becomes "Liberty to die by starvation," is not so divine.—Carlyle, quoted in Owen's *Economics of Herbert Spencer*, p. 242.

21. References to the official record and extracts from it may be found in Marx's *Capital*, 136, 141–165, 261, 289–291, 310; also in *Fabian Essays*, as quoted in lecture later. More recent investigations show that some of the cruelties of British employers lasted down to a recent date. An official inquiry in 1863 showed that British prisoners had more food and less labor than "free workmen," and it was seriously suggested that the dietary of the former should be reduced to that of the latter, lest workmen should seek to improve their condition by becoming criminals.—See

Karl Marx, *Capital*, p. 430. See also Behrends, *Socialism and Christianity*, 152. These cruelties have not prevented Herbert Spencer from calling the *laissez-faire* plan the "industrial régime of willinghood."—Quoted, Owen's *Economics of Herbert Spencer*, 229.

22. *Fabian Essays*, 58–61. See also 17. Not until 1819 were hours limited in England to twelve per day for children of nine years and upward, the law not allowing child labor below that age. Mrs. Helen Campbell (*Christian Work*, August 2, 1894), commenting on these cruelties of British child-labor, says: "These evils found counterpart in our own country, and in Connecticut and other New England States hideous abuses existed, described in full by Colonel Wright in the earlier Reports of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor. Employment of children was then at a minimum, but with the multiplying of population and the herding together in great cities, it has steadily increased, and with it the evils inseparable from it. . . In the tenement-house [sweat-shop], where numberless industries are carried on, children are at work stripping tobacco, sewing on buttons, picking threads, for from ten to fourteen hours daily. Out of 530 of these children examined during a period of eighteen months by Dr. Annie S. Daniel, one of the best known of New York physicians, but sixty were healthy, and these barely so. Infantile paralysis was one of the common results of work begun in one case at three, and in many at four years old; one family having twin girls of four, who sewed on buttons from six in the morning till ten at night." See also *Hull House Maps and Papers* for evidence that such cruelties exist to-day in Chicago.

23. For the history of the Factory Acts and other British legislation in defense of working men, which a Parliamentary Commission, in 1894, pronounced so complete as to need no additions, and which British labor leaders, though still asking a stronger "Employer's Liability Bill," usually admit constitutes the best set of labor laws in the world, see Marx's *Capital*, 163, 175, 306–308; also first of *Fabian Essays*, the earlier chapters of Mackenzie's *Nineteenth Century*, and the historic sections of Ely's *Economics*. Dr. Behrends (*Socialism and Christianity*, 154) says: "In England and in Germany employers are liable for damages to the workman, or compelled to insure him against accident."

24. See Shaftesbury's lament at the opposition of good men to his good laws, Ely's *Socialism*, etc., 69–72.

25. One of the remarkable signs of the time in England of late has been the gradual spreading revolt against many of the conclusions of the school of political economy represented by Adam Smith, Ricardo, and Mill.—Benjamin Kidd, *Social Evolution*, 23. *Laissez-faire* [Utilitarianism also] rests on two assumptions, as Professor Cairnes (*Essays in Political Economy*, 244) has pointed out in no unfriendly spirit: First, that the interests of human beings are fundamentally the same—that which is most for my interest is also most for the interest of other people; secondly, that individuals know their interests in the sense in which they are coincident with others, and that, in the absence of coercion, they will, in this sense, follow them. The authority of English economy is shattered beyond recovery. . . First, the doctrine of *laissez-faire* cannot lay claim to scientific pretensions. Second, the abandonment of its scientific pretension destroyed whatever authority English economy ever had as a guide for constructive economies.—Professor H. C. Adams, *Relation of the State to Industrial Action*, 14, 27. *The Sunday-School Times* (July

28, 1894) says: "The conception of natural economic law, once so dominant, has in this age fallen into disrepute. "*Laissez-faire*"—"let us alone"—it is identical in spirit with the sullen insolence of Cain—"Am I my brother's keeper?" The celestial voice that asked of old that terrific question, "Where is thy brother Abel?" shall yet be heard and responded to by every one who would win profit or enjoyment from that which oppresses or degrades a single human being.—Horace Greeley, Sotheran's *Horace Greeley*, pp. 175, 190. "How badly industrial distribution is now managed," is one of the unspoken morals of an article on "Pauperism in the United States," in *The Kingdom*, August 23, 1895, by Mr. Frank B. Sanborn, Secretary of the American Social Science Association, in which it is shown that one out of every 140 people in this country receives charitable aid each year. He estimates the total charitable expenditure as not less than thirty-five millions of dollars, an average of fifty cents per head for the whole population.

26. The man who tells us that we ought to investigate Nature, simply to sit still patiently under her and let her freeze and ruin and starve and stink us to death, is a goose, whether he call himself a chemist or a political economist.—Kingsley, quoted, *Fabian Essays*, pp. 75–76. On the fallacy of "natural economic law," see also *Communism of John Ruskin*, 49–50, and address by Professor George D. Herron in *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1 : 457.

27. His [Ricardo's] powerful mind, concentrated upon the argument, never stopped to consider the world which the argument implied—that world of gold-seeking animals, stripped of every human affection, forever digging, weaving, spinning, watching with keen, undeceived eyes each other's movements, passing incessantly and easily from place to place in search of gain, all alert, crafty, mobile—that world less real than the island of Lilliput, which never has had, and never can have, any existence.—President E. B. Andrews, *Wealth and Moral Law*.

28. The fundamental principle of human action—the law that is to political economy what gravitation is to physics—is that men seek to gratify their desires with the least exertion.—Henry George, *Progress and Poverty*, 150.

29. "*Laissez-faire*," exclaims a sardonic German writer. "What is this universal cry for *laissez-faire?* Does it mean that human affairs require no guidance? that wisdom and forethought cannot guide them better than folly and accident?"—Carlyle, quoted in *Socialism and Unsocialism*, 240.

30. *Positive Philosophy*, ch. i.

31. Competition made them perfect Ishmaelites.—Ely, *Outlines of Economics*, 57.

32. Selling men in the markets has ceased in the civilized world, but Ruskin reminds us, in his lecture on "Traffic," that the no less wicked trade of *under*-selling men has lasted to this day.

33. "It has taken the world ages to discover that war is bad politics; that it is more profitable to trade with one's neighbors than to rob them. It is also beginning to be discovered that the principles and practises of war are bad in business; that it is better that all should labor under fair exchange than that the spoils of industry should adorn the triumph of the conqueror."

34. The more recent economists may be grouped together as the "ethical school." . . . The course of economic thought is largely, per-

haps mainly, directed to what ought to be. . . With this compare Laveleye's definition. . . "Political economy may therefore be defined as the science which determines what laws men ought to adopt in order that they may, with the least possible exertion, procure the greatest abundance of things useful for the satisfaction of their wants; may distribute them justly, and consume them rationally." . . . The ethical school places society above the individual.—Ely, *Social Aspects of Christianity*, 118, 123, 129. See also Behrends, *Socialism and Christianity*, 271–272.—We have the rising school of orthodox political economists in England already beginning to question whether poverty itself may not be abolished, and whether it is necessarily any more a permanent human institution than was slavery. . . They are most anxious to preserve the freedom of the individual to try new paths on his own responsibility, . . . and desire, on scientific grounds, to disentangle the case for it from the case for such institutions as tend to maintain extreme inequalities of wealth; to which some of them are strongly opposed.—Kidd's *Social Evolution*, 223, 231. See also 24. That vast fortunes are not needed as incentives to earnest commercial endeavor is thus argued by one of them (Professor Alfred Marshall, quoted, Kidd's *Social Evolution*, 230–231): "If the conditions of the country were such that a moderate income gave as good a social position as a large one does now; if to have earned a moderate income were a strong presumptive proof that a man had surpassed able rivals in the attempt to do a difficult thing well, then the hope of earning such an income would offer to all but the most sordid natures inducements almost as strong as they are now, when there is an equal hope of earning a large one."

35. The action which springs immediately from impulse or appetite is not free. The pursuance of a blind instinct or the subjection to a strong passion is the negation of freedom. Thus the animal is unfree.—Dr. Elisha Mulford, *The Nation*, 110.

36. This is the key-note of civilization, as Guizot shows in his history of it.

37. True liberty is not the right to choose evil, but the right of choice between the various paths that lead to good.—Joseph Mazzini, *The Duties of Man*, 99–100.

38. For instance, thirty-one railway officers have given me their opinion in writing (see Appendix of my *Sabbath for Man*) that railroads might discontinue Sunday trains without loss, but for competition; which Congress could and should eliminate by passing the law which has been before it for several years against Sunday mails and Sunday trains.

39. The curé of a little village near Bellinzona, to whom I had expressed wonder that the peasants allowed the Ticino to flood their fields, told me that they would not join to build an embankment high up the valley because everybody said "that would help his neighbors as much as himself." So every proprietor built a bit of low embankment about his own field; and the Ticino, as soon as it had a mind, swept away and swallowed all up together.—*Communism of John Ruskin*, p. 85.

40. The *Standard Dictionary* gives the following most excellent definitions of socialism and its near kin: "Socialism, collectivism, a theory of civil polity that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor through the public collective ownership of land and capital (as distinguished from property), and the public collective management of all industries. Its

motto is 'Every one according to his deeds.' Socialism, as claimed by its advocates, is distinguished from communism in not demanding a community of goods or property, and from nationalism in not asking that all individuals shall be rewarded alike. Fabianism is a modified form of socialism that aims to bring about similar results through the Fabian policy of putting industry under state ownership only so fast as the State can be made ready to operate it."

41. Professor Ely says of the text of Christ's sermon at Nazareth, which Professor Henry Drummond calls "The Program of Christianity": "When we call to mind the fact that the 'acceptable year of the Lord' may well be taken to refer to that great economic institution, the year of jubilee, in which debts were forgiven, the land restored to the poor, and the slave set free, who would not say that we have, in Christ's statement of his mission, a magnificent statement of the heart purpose of the labor movement?"—*Christianity Practically Applied*, 1 : 441. Socialism seeks a distribution which avoids the extremes of pauperism and plutocracy. This ideal is that of the Bible as expressed in Agur's prayer (Proverbs 30 : 8, 9), "Give me neither poverty nor riches."—Ely's *Socialism*, etc., 140. On Christian Socialists, see Fairbairn's *Religion in History*, 3 f.; Ely's *Socialism*, etc., 382 ff.; and pamphlet by one of them, Rev. W. D. P. Bliss of Boston, *What Christian Socialism Is*, 10 cents. See also *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1 : 88.

42. We are surprised to find in so able a magazine as *The Social Economist* such an "argument" (?) as the following (October, 1894, review of Kidd's *Social Evolution*): "The community would no more be enriched by having productive wealth equally distributed among all its members than by having all locomotive engines and ships broken up so that each member of the community could have a useless hunk of iron or wood to carry around in his pocket." It is the whole engine—the whole railway—that Socialists want for the whole people. For further matter on the "grand divide" fallacy, see Owen's *Economics of Herbert Spencer*, 34.

43. It is true that shallow socialists have befriended anarchists on the ground that both seek the overthrow of the existing order. Anarchists are styled by Professor De Leon "impatient socialists." The executive board of the American Federation of Labor approved Governor Altgeld's anarchistic pardon of the Chicago anarchists, and the *Knights of Labor Journal* approved and defended this act of the Federation. Such anarchistic socialism is the worst foe of true socialism, as fanatical parasites are the curse of every reform. But more representative socialists, who seek their end not by revolution but by evolution, see in anarchists only scarecrows of labor's cause. The popular idea that socialism is a scheme of criminals for theft and robbery is shown to be a mistake by Professor Ely (*Socialism*, p. 39), by various facts, among them an informal vote in the Elmira Reformatory in the presidential campaign of 1892, which resulted as follows: Democrats, 401; Republicans, 394; People's Party, 15; Prohibition, 1; defective, 8. On p. 92, Professor Ely says: "Socialists and anarchists are most bitter enemies."

44. Socialism has nowadays too many, too honest, and too thoughtful devotees to be ignored. . . It is stronger at this moment than ever before, and is rapidly growing.—President E. B. Andrews, *Wealth and Moral Law*, 91. Socialism enlists the sympathies of many of the best

minds.—Benjamin Kidd, *Social Evolution*, 10. I honor the generous ideas of the socialists.—Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1883, quoted in Sotheran's *Horace Greeley*, p. 3. For the benefit of those who suppose that socialistic views have been held only by the "unwashed," we subjoin from Sotheran's *Horace Greeley*, pp. 10, 11, a partial list of the contributors to the *Harbinger*, the organ of the American socialists at the middle of our century: Hawthorne, Theodore Parker, Emerson, Margaret Fuller, Greeley, Lowell, Whittier, Thoreau, Story, Parke Godwin, Bronson Alcott, George William Curtis, Channing, Higginson, James Freeman Clarke, Charles A. Dana, George Ripley. The corresponding names in England are Maurice, Kingsley, Carlyle, Ruskin, Morris, John Stuart Mill. On famous adherents of socialism, see also Ely's *Socialism*, etc., 157.—The [Fabian] society seeks recruits from all ranks, believing that not only those who suffer from the present system, but also many who are themselves enriched by it, recognize its evils and would welcome a remedy.—*Fabian Essays*, p. 11. See also p. 126.—What is called an "all-classes socialism" is stronger than a working-class socialism. . . Socialism will become stronger when it loses its class character and looks for leadership to men of superior intelligence and wide experience.—Professor R. T. Ely, *Socialism*, etc., 179, 249.

45. Outside the educational and economic spheres they advocate a general *laissez-faire* or non-interference policy. . . Some of them hope that what they call administration may take the place altogether of government, by which they evidently mean repressive measures designed to control individuals.—Ely's *Socialism*, 34. Socialist Labor Party of United States, largely German, calls for repeal of "sumptuary laws," that is, temperance and Sunday laws. See Appendix of Ely's *Socialism*, etc. On German socialist opposition to the family, see Behrends, *Socialism and Christianity*, 274 ff.; on atheistic tendencies, ch. x. On last, see *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1 : 87.

46. Socialism is a challenge which society cannot ignore. If the evils alleged by socialism do not exist, the charges must be refuted. If they do exist, their cause must be discovered. If actual evils are due to conditions which society can control, social programs must be adopted accordingly.—Small and Vincent, *An Introduction to the Study of Society*.

47. The [Fabian] society works for the transfer to the community of the administration of such industrial capital as can conveniently be managed socially.—*Fabian Essays*, p. x. The Fabian socialists, speaking of those who assume that the abolition of the wage system implies the abolition of the service of one man under another, say (*Fabian Tract* No. 51): "We propose neither to abandon the London and Northwestern Railway nor to allow the engine-drivers and guards [conductors] to run the trains at their own sweet will."—The social problem of the future we considered to be, How to unite the greatest liberty of action with a common ownership in the raw material of the globe and an equal participation of all in the benefits of combined labor.—John Stuart Mill, *Autobiography*, ch. vii. The design of socialism is the abolition of the private receipt of rent and interest. It desires to abolish private property only in so far as it enables one to gather an income through the toil of others without personal exertions. . . Not only are the material instruments of production to be owned in common, but they are to be managed by the collectivity in order that to the people as a whole may accrue all

those gains of enterprise called profits. . . We may call the chief purpose of socialism distributive justice.—Ely's *Socialism*, II, 14.

48. See Ely's *Socialism*, etc., 192.

49. The Individualist City Councilor will walk along the municipal pavement, lit by municipal gas and cleansed by municipal brooms with municipal water, and, seeing by the municipal clock in the municipal market that he is too early to meet his children coming from the municipal school hard by the county lunatic asylum and municipal hospital, will use the national telegraph system to tell them not to walk through the municipal park, but to come by the municipal tramway, to meet him in the municipal reading-room by the municipal art gallery, museum, and library, where he intends to consult some of the national publications in order to prepare his next speech in the municipal town-hall in favor of the nationalizing of canals and the increase of the government control over the railroad systems. "Socialism, sir!" he will say, "don't waste the time of a practical man by your fantastic absurdities."—Sidney Webb, quoted in Owen's *Economics of Herbert Spencer*, 172–173. Nearly four hundred "paternal" local improvement laws for the protection of the people's health and life against selfish "liberty," were passed in England between 1802 and 1845. The sanitary restrictions upon the free use of land and capital form a thick volume by themselves. See *Fabian Essays*, 23 f, 60–63. The socialist philosophy of to-day is but the conscious and explicit assertion of principles of social organization which have been already in great part unconsciously adopted. The economic history of the century is an almost continuous record in the progress of socialism.—*Fabian Essays*, 4. Herbert Spencer, attacking socialism, speaks of "communistic theories, partially endorsed by one Act of Parliament after another."—Quoted, Owen's *Economics of Spencer*, p. 46. Hon. Robert P. Porter, superintendent of United States Census of 1890, in a letter from England (*The Independent*, April 18, 1895), says: "It is claimed, and I shall show hereafter with considerable truth, that whenever the Government or the municipality in England has undertaken enterprises heretofore managed by private individuals, the work has been more satisfactorily done, those employed have been better paid, and the people are better pleased with the result. The admirable result of the government management of telegraphs in England makes State ownership of railways possible; and I find its advocates among the most conservative business men of the kingdom. The excellent results from municipal ownership of gas- and water-works, and more recently tramways, and the profits from these enterprises, have settled this phase of the municipal problem for all time to come; while the newer spirits of reform are moving in the direction of the destruction of the slums of all large cities, and the erection of artisan dwellings."

50. In Germany the proposed abolition of tuition fees has, within a few years past, been opposed as socialism, while no one there thinks of government ownership of railways as socialistic. The state of public opinion is curiously just the reverse in the United States. [The *Fabian Essays* give long lists of the forms of business which are already carried on, somewhere and in some degree, by civilized governments.] Parallel with this progressive nationalizing of industry, there has gone on the elimination of the purely personal element in business management. . . . Every conceivable industry, down to baking and milk-selling, is

successfully managed by the salaried officers of large corporations of idle shareholders. More than one-third of the whole business of England [one-fourth in the United States, 74], measured by the capital employed, is now done by joint-stock companies. . . Even in the fields still abandoned to private enterprise, its operations are every day more closely limited (pp. 24–31). . . "The noteworthy fact about the corporation is that its very existence testifies to the process of industrial and capitalistic aggregation" (78). . . As regards the great combinations of capital, State action may take one of three courses: It may prohibit and dissolve them; it may tax and control them; or it may absorb and administer them. In either case the socialist theory is *ipso facto* admitted; for each is a confession that it is well to exercise a collective control over industrial capital.—Ely's *Socialism* (91–92). "In the summer of 1895, when this book was going through the press, the attacks on industrial combinations were mostly concentrated on department stores. It was seriously proposed to tax the department stores out of existence by putting a tax of $5000 upon every line of goods carried beyond a single one, by any dealer. It is passing strange that all do not see the futility of attempting to force the new industrial era of combination back into the almost vanished era of competition. It is as futile as smashing new inventions. The evils of combination, it should be seen, can only be cured by carrying combination forward into cooperation.

51. The most serious objections to socialism . . . are: The tendencies to revolutionary dissatisfaction it would be likely to carry with it [because all the blame we now scatter among many private parties for deficient industrial service would be concentrated on the government]; the difficulties in the way of organizing several important factors of production under socialism, notably agriculture; difficulties in the way of determining any standard of distributive justice that would be generally acceptable, and at the same time would enlist the services of the most gifted and talented members of the community; and finally, the danger that the requirements of those persons engaged in higher pursuits would be underestimated.—Professor R. T. Ely, *Socialism*, etc., 244. Mr. Benjamin Kidd expresses what he deems the special weakness of socialism, as follows, in *The Nineteenth Century*, March, 1895: "The problem before it is simply: Is it a movement which is tending to produce the greatest possible degree of social efficiency; or is it one which is tending toward an ideal that can never be made consistent with this, namely, the maximum of ease and comfort with the minimum of effort for the greatest possible number of the existing population? The destiny of the movement may be foretold, not in any spirit of prophecy, but as the result of a strictly scientific forecast of the working of forces now, as ever, immutable and inexorable. In so far as modern socialism tends to realize the latter ideal to the exclusion of the former, to that extent it must be a failure."

52. The socialistic platforms are, as a rule, divided into two parts, the first of which contains a statement of the ultimate ideal, and the second of which presents immediate demands.—Professor R. T. Ely, *Socialism*, etc., 170.

53. The American Federation of Labor, the largest labor body in the United States, in 1894, after a year's consideration of certain planks, rejected one proposing complete socialism and another proposing a labor party, but adopted the following labor creed: 1. Compulsory education.

2. Direct legislation, through the initiative and referendum. 3. A legal work-day of not more than eight hours. 4. Sanitary inspection of workshop, mine, and home. 5. Liability of employers for injury to health, body, or life. 6. The abolition of the contract system in all public work. 7. The abolition of the sweating system. 8. The municipal ownership of street-cars, water-works, and gas and electric plants, for public distribution of light, heat, and power. 9. The nationalization of telegraphs, telephones, railroads, and mines. 10. The abolition of the monopoly system of landholding, and the substitution therefor of a title by occupancy and use only. 11. The abolition of the monopoly privilege of issuing money and substituting therefor a system of direct issuance to and by the people.

In the same year the British Trade Unions, at their annual meeting, adopted substantially the whole program named above, including the two rejected planks. To the objection that socializing industry destroys individual incentive, Professor Ely replies (*Economics*, 299–300) that this objection does not hold in the case of socializing monopolies, since "private enterprise, when it becomes monopolistic, ceases to be enterprising."

54. The legal systems of many countries have always regarded the natural treasures below the surface of the earth as public property, and they should be thus regarded everywhere.—Ely, *Socialism*, etc., 293.

55. London . . . is governed by a County Council, the majority of whose members [reduced to a tie by Conservatives in 1895], if not avowed socialists, at any rate act consciously under a pronounced socialist influence. [It] has acquired some twenty-one miles of street railways. . . The second illustration is found in the abolition of the contract system in the construction of artisans' dwellings by the municipality. . . It is also significant that Paris . . . is under the government of a socialist municipal council.—Ely's *Socialism*, etc., 60, 63. See also 171. See *The Century*, July, 1894, on "What German Cities Do for Their Citizens."—Let the city renovate the tenement-house, even build its own tenement-houses, as Liverpool and Glasgow have done; let it regulate and inspect the markets, keep down extortion and pawnbrokers' usury, as Berlin has done; let it furnish cheap transportation, and carry children free to school and back, as Sydney and Melbourne have done; let it furnish cheap gas, electric light and power, pure water, and even steam heat at cost to all the poorest, as various cities abroad and at home have done; then should we have a city worth spending enthusiasm upon.—Commons, *Social Problems and the Church*, 130–131. Professor Ely, summing up the statistics of municipal lighting plants, says: "Public lighting secured a saving of over thirty per cent. [twenty per cent. for forty municipalities investigated by Omaha City Council in 1895] as compared with private lighting."—Ely, *Outlines of Economics*, 303. Had the public interest been guarded [in granting franchises] it would be easy to have three-cent street-car fares in New York City, or on each fare to have a surplus of two cents to be employed for public purposes, in the benefits of which all would share.—Professor R. T. Ely, *Socialism*, etc., 168. The tendency of socialistic thought lays increasing emphasis upon the municipalization rather than the nationalization of industry.—Ely, *Socialism*, etc., 23.

56. The strike occasioned, in 1895, a strong petition, favored by many besides wage-earners, which asked the New York Legislature to allow

New York City, Brooklyn, and Buffalo to own and operate street-car lines. The lower house voted favorably, but the Senate put the bill in "cold storage."

57. The change which has in recent years come over economic thinking cannot be more graphically stated than by calling attention to the fact that students are seeking for some principles by which the public activity of the State and the private initiative of the individual can work together for a common end, rather than searching for arguments by which government can be entirely excluded from the industrial field.—Professor H. C. Adams, *Handbook of Sociological Information*, p. 18. See same writer's pamphlet on *The Relation of the State to Industrial Action*, American Economic Association, Baltimore.—Government ownership of the telegraph would have one great advantage: it would emancipate us from the control of an organization which now has dangerous power, and whose methods have not been, in all respects, above suspicion.—Professor A. T. Hadley, *Railroad Transportation*, 256. One very great advantage of government ownership of the telegraph, for which the people are already ripe, would be the cutting off of its powerful aid to gambling racetracks and lotteries. Congress has deprived the gamblers of the aid of the mail and the express, but for some reason has not laid its iron hand on the gambler's great ally, the telegraph, nor on the national banks that aid these public thieves.

58. Twenty-five countries were declared to have postal savings banks in *The Voice* of April 4, 1895. *Facts and Arguments as to Postal Savings Banks* may be found in a pamphlet of that title published by New York State Charities Association, Charities Building, New York.—I hope it will not forever be the reproach of America that she stands almost alone among civilized lands in not having introduced a postal savings bank.—Rev. Dr. H. L. Wayland, *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1 : 454. See John Wanamaker on Lewin's *History of Postal Savings*, *Charities Review*, June, 1892.

59. There is a strong popular feeling, to a large extent unsuspected by those in authority, in favor of government ownership of railroads as a system.—Professor A. T. Hadley, *Railroad Transportation*, 258. This admission is the more significant in that it occurs in an adverse argument. See also "Oberlin and Princeton Ballot on Reforms" in Appendix and other notes of this chapter.

60. The [New York] *Tribune* list [of millionaires in New York City, 1103 in 1892] is instructive because it gives the businesses in which the millionaires have made their fortunes, the aim being to show that the great wealth of the country cannot be traced to the protective tariff. . . The list is conclusive in this respect. What the list does show is the connection of the concentrated wealth of the country with monopoly of some sort or another, or with the gains of land ownership. . . . A conservative estimate [Professor J. R. Commons, *Distribution of Wealth*, ch. vi] traces three-fourths of the great fortunes of the country [individually unearned] to a connection of some kind with the economic surplus. . . We cannot undo the past, but we can in the future secure management of monopolies favorable to a wide distribution of wealth; and a wise system of regulation and taxation of inheritances will, in time, tend to break up the mammoth fortunes of the country. . . The abolition or restriction of unearned income would mean personally earned incomes in a large number of cases; and this change would be

beneficial not only to society as a whole but to those cut off from the receipt of unearned income, which leads to idleness and extravagance, and thus to demoralization.—Professor R. T. Ely, *Socialism*, etc., 275–276. *The Voice* of May 9, 1895, contains a table of thirty industries, each of which had either become, or was tending to become, a trust. The industries were as follows: Agricultural implements, boots and shoes, carpets and rugs, cars (railroad and street), chemicals, coffee and spice, cordage and twine, cotton goods, flouring, foundry and machine-shop, glass, gold and silver refining, iron and steel (crude), jewelry, leather, liquors (distilled), liquors (malt), lumber (rough), lumber (planing-mill), marble and stone, paints, paper, petroleum (refining), ship-building, silk and silk goods, slaughtering and meat-packing, soap and candles, tobacco, woolen goods, worsted goods. The following facts and tendencies for the decade from 1880 to 1890 are shown by the table: Capital has concentrated in all industries, but more than twice as rapidly in the thirty specified industries as in all the others. The number of employees per establishment has nearly doubled in the thirty specified industries, and increased about twenty-five per cent. in the other industries. The average wages per employee have increased in nearly all industries, but they are now one hundred dollars or less per year in the specified industries than in the others. Gross profits per establishment have nearly doubled in the thirty industries, and increased by one-half in the other industries: In general, the more complete the organization of the trust, the more marked all these tendencies.—President E. B. Andrews shows that, although the monopoly price may not be greater than the former price under competition, the people may yet be losers, inasmuch as competition does, and combination does not, give the people the benefit of improved processes. If monopoly lowers price, competition or the State might have lowered it more.—*Wealth and Moral Law*, 41, 43. Dr. Behrends suggests that the government supervision now maintained in the interest of the people over banks, insurance companies, and railroads should be extended to "all associations created by law," especially to corporations to which government has granted valuable franchises or other aid.—*Socialism and Christianity*, pp. 161–162. Dr. Behrends also suggests (166) that it might be well to limit the net profits in the case of monopolies created by patents. It is quite practicable, following the example of England, to make it compulsory for the owner of an invention to allow others to use it on payment of a royalty. . . An American Commissioner of Patents suggested a further improvement, in the reserved right of the general government to purchase a patent at an appraised valuation, and throw it open to general use.—Ely, *Socialism*, etc., 297, 298. A commission to work the watchword "Fair trade or free trade," by proclaiming free trade in any commodity whose price was unduly raised by a trust, might be a partial protection in a land of protective tariff against the abuses of combination, which cheapens production and should cheapen prices as well.—Bills have been brought before half the legislatures of the Union to compel free competition by making trade syndicates absolutely illegal. To my mind there is no question that such legislation will be vain. . . Every great industry is destined to take on solidarity of organization and to maintain the same in perpetuity.—President E. B. Andrews, *Wealth and Moral Law*, 36. Socialists firmly believe that trusts are the evolutionary link between competition and socialistic cooperation, showing both the possibility and

necessity of nationalizing, for the benefit of all, those industries already nationalized in the interest of a few.—Naturally it is thought that large monopolistic undertakings will be socialized first, and business after business will be absorbed as it becomes monopolistic.—Ely's *Socialism*, 82. See also 480–481, Nationalist declaration to same effect.—The great capitalists, crushing out their smaller rivals and concentrating wealth into fewer and fewer hands, are the true progenitors of the revolution. In the United States fifty thousand people own everything worth having. Four men practically control and are rapidly absorbing the wealth of this fifty thousand. The only possible chance of retarding the approach of socialism is to stop the tendency of capital to congeal in a few hands.—*Fabian Essays*, pp. xiii, xiv, xv. See also 92.

61. We must anticipate serious obstacles to be overcome [in accomplishing government ownership of monopolies]; but the difficulties and disadvantages of private ownership and management are far greater. . . The socializing of monopoly would remove from individual ownership the gains of monopoly. This would tend to avoid those dangerous extremes in private fortunes which have been considered by political philosophers from the days of Aristotle to be dangerous, and especially so in a republic.—Professor R. T. Ely, *Socialism*, etc., 272. Wealth has grown at the expense of that human weal in whose service it won its name.—Ely, *Outlines of Economics*, 73. The anti-monopoly and anti-saloon issues are the supreme problems of the hour in politics, whether the point of view be moral or financial. It makes one skeptical of the truth of Lincoln's saying, "You can't fool all the people all the time," to see how easily the politicians, whose boodle is derived from the funds which the monopolies and saloons filch from the people, divert political attacks from these, their friends, but the people's foes, to such secondary issues as unbiased economists have shown tariff and silver to be—both of the latter intricate questions of detail appropriate for non-partisan commissions of experts to handle, while the anti-monopoly and anti-saloon planks are suitable and sufficient for a political platform. Capital's gains by exchange from the Gorman high tariff to the McKinley higher tariff (impossible to any Congress during a democratic presidency) would be but a trifle compared to the gains to all legitimate business from turning the billion dollars and more spent for drink into the channels of honest trade. Labor would, by prohibition, make employment for a million more workmen, and, by the transfer of monopolies to the people, would secure shares in their profits by reduced rates and fares and better wages, compared with which any benefits from increased use of silver are as dimes to dollars. Even arbitration, profit-sharing, and cooperation, all excellent, are but skin plasters compared to the more fundamental remedies of social ills, the abolition of rum and monopoly, from which they should not be allowed to divert our chief energies. It is to be hoped that the masterpiece of anti-monopoly literature, Henry D. Lloyd's *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, may be cut down to one-tenth of its present price ($2.50), and so bring its record of the "bloody assize" of this modern Jeffreys of monopoly to the knowledge of the people, who will become anti-monopolists as they are already anti-monarchists, and for like reasons. Monopoly is a much larger issue every way than monometalism.

62. All businesses pertaining to transportation, as railroads, expressage, telegraphy, postal service, and the like, pertain naturally to the state

They are the nerves and arteries of the body politic, and should be directed from a common center. Professor H. C. Adams, *Relation of the State to Industrial Action*, 28. The present anomalous condition of railways—public highways before the law and whenever help is needed, but private property in fact and whenever profits are to be divided—ought to come to an end.—*The Voice*, August 16, 1894.

63. An abstract of these reports is given in *The Voice*, November 11, 1894. The original reports can no doubt be seen at the State Department in Washington, or an official abstract obtained. Prussian railway statistics show that in 1889 [in those government-owned roads] one-sixth as many persons were killed and one-thirteenth as many injured in proportion to the number of passengers as in the United States. See Ely's *Outlines of Economics*, 300–301. In United States, 2727 railroad employees killed year ending June, 1894 (1 to every 320 employed), and 31,729 injured (1 to every 28). About Berlin fare on working men's trains of government railroads was only two-thirds cent per mile, and has been further reduced by the zone system. See Ely's *Socialism*, etc., 277. Professor Ely shows that in Prussia, Australia, and New Zealand experience has almost entirely silenced the former objections to government ownership and management of railways, such as are still heard in the United States. See also Ely's *Economics*, Chautauqua ed., 67–70.

64. The total capitalization of the railways in the hands of receivers at the date given was $2,500,000,000, or one-fourth of the railway capital of the country. Inter-State Commerce Report, 1894. It is a notorious fact that many of the lines now in the hands of receivers were capitalized out of all reasonable proportion to the actual cost of the properties. . . . It is worthy of special mention that only one of the 156 roads (in the hands of receivers, June 30, 1894), is in the New England group, where the matter of the capitalization of roads is largely under the control of the State Commissioners. . . When public opinion shall regard transportation frauds in the same light [as those in the customs] the serious difficulty now met on every hand in endeavoring to convict those who wilfully violate the act to regulate commerce will have mainly disappeared.—Inter-State Commerce (1894) Report, 14, 69.

65. To make money out of the building of a railroad, it was only necessary to subscribe the small sum requisite to obtaining a charter, with the right to issue first mortgage bonds. The original subscribers would then have at their disposal whatever funds the bondholders might furnish. They could pay themselves a good commission for selling the bonds. They could then organize as a construction company and contract to pay themselves a high price for building the road. These are but two means among many which afforded them an opportunity of transferring the bondholders' money to their own pockets in their double capacity as directors and contractors.—Professor A. T. Hadley, *Railroad Transportation*, 52. Among the worst of these [tricks of corporations] is the habit of forming from powerful members of main corporations subcorporations, and turning over to these all the profits earned by the larger concerns. . . Another style of vicious obliquity in this field consists of multiplying the number of shares [stock-watering] which represent a corporation's property, so that its face value is out of all proportion to the real value of the property represented. . . Another iniquity to which corporations at times resort is the freezing out of feeble stockholders by the strong ones.—President E. B. Andrews, *Wealth and*

Moral Law, 75, 76, 77. For specific illustrations see abstract in *The Outlook*, February 9, 1895, of the report of the Pacific Railroad Commission of 1887, or get original from congressman. As to stock-watering *The Outlook*, December. 22, 1894, shows that when advocates of the pooling bill were claiming that railroads were not paying a normal rate of interest on their stock, the return was at least eighteen per cent. per annum upon the actual investment—no interest being in that calculation allowed for the "water."

66. A lax sentiment and lax legislation affecting all stock companies alike. . . permits a kind of management little superior to piracy.—Ely, *Outlines of Economics*, 226. A railroad company approaches a small town as a highwayman approaches his victim. The threat, "If you do not accede to our request we will leave your town two or three miles to one side," is as efficacious as the "stand and deliver" when backed by a cocked pistol.—Henry George, *Progress and Poverty*, 141. The average level-headed private citizen has always been in the habit of replying to the blandishments of the "State socialist" that private business is always more cheaply and efficiently performed than public business. But in the past few years he has lost much of his faith in the sufficiency of this reply, and he is in a fair way of losing the rest. It is not true that the prevalent railing against corporations is altogether, and we doubt if it is mainly, due to the poor man's envy of the rich man, even when aggravated by the demagogue who wants votes. It is due to a genuine impatience with the lack of intelligence or honesty, or both, in private management of great interests. No socialist or demagogue has ever made more savage indictments of certain railroad managers than have been made by business men of large experience, by newspapers that are preeminently friendly to capital and private management, and by railroad men themselves.—*New York Journal of Commerce*, quoted in *The Voice*, August, 1894.—There never was a better time to inaugurate a reform. A reform which shall be radical and permanent. A reform which shall make an end of the sharp practices by which rival managers outwit each other, violate law, rig the market, and impose on public confidence. A reform which shall forbid "gentlemen" after entering into a "gentlemen's agreement" from putting a premium on the traffic-managing talent that can most surely dodge the agreement and evade the law. A reform which shall take the tylers off the doors of the offices, and the fingers off the lips of bookkeepers and accountants; do away with the grips, passwords, countersigns, and all the freemasonry of the craft of managers; close the "suspense accounts," abolish rebates, and shut down on all the costly machinery of misrepresentation, concealment, and evasion. A reform, in short, which will pay a fair price for honesty, instead of a premium for dexterous deception, and give to every railroad bond the credit and currency of a gentleman's word. This is possible. Why not try it?—*New York Tribune*, August 13, 1894.

67. *The Kingdom*, November 30, 1894. See letter of Rev. F. E. Clark in *Review of Reviews*, March, 1895, reporting like feeling of distrust and disgust toward American securities all over Europe.

68. See note 9 of this chapter. The plan of Mr. E. J. Wheeler seems to the writer another case of impracticable mixed control. He states it thus in reply to a query: "We mean government ownership as well as control, but the operation of the roads should be conducted on a basis similar to that on which the operation of rivers, canals, and turnpikes is

now conducted. In that case the government would not have to employ an army of employees. Make the railroads public highways, as the Mississippi River, the Erie Canal, and Broadway are public highways—free to all who conform to the necessary regulations." To this plan the following objection has been published: "The enormous traffic passing in each direction over the narrow tracks of our railways renders necessary a very different system from that used upon rivers, canals, or streets. No haphazard, free-for-all system is practicable upon a railroad, where two trains cannot pass, and where the lightning express and the slow-moving freight must both minister to the convenience of the public."

69. In the Chicago strike, railroads having a combined capital of two billion dollars and employing more than one-fourth of all the railway employees of the United States acted together as the General Managers' Association, which the national strike report declared a concentration of power dangerous to the republic. On November 21, 1894, there was a meeting of sixty General Passenger Agents at Buffalo to arrange commissions. Rev. W. D. P. Bliss states in a footnote to the American edition (issued 1891) of the *Fabian Essays* (p. 70), "If railroad corporations in America continue to be absorbed at the rate they did in the twelve months previous to the last report of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, two years and a half will see only two railroad companies in the United States."—"It is said by a railway manager that, even now, it would involve an annual gaining of two hundred million of dollars if the railways of the United States were managed as a unit."—Ely's *Socialism*, 118.

70. Paper on Chicago strike read at annual meeting of American Economic Association. Colonel Wright declares that the Inter-State Commerce law was "emphatically State socialism, it was emphatically compulsory arbitration, it was emphatically a law regulating the prices of commodities through the price of services." "The pooling bill which passed the House of Representatives in 1894 at the request of railroad owners and shippers he declares to be also 'State socialism.'" "The Inter-State Commerce law drove the wedge of State socialism one-fourth its length; the pooling bill would drive it twice as much more. There will be needed but one more blow to drive the wedge home, and that blow will come at the instance of business and not of labor. With twenty-five per cent. of the railways of the country now under control of the government through its courts, . . . that final blow will [soon] send the wedge its full length and bring entire government control." Among instances of "business" favoring government ownership of railroads may be cited the action of the Denver Chamber of Commerce, in January, 1895, asking the National Government to foreclose its mortgage on the Union Pacific Railroad and establish direct government ownership; also the advocacy of such ownership in general by an American railway president, and by Mr. James Hole, secretary of the British Association of Chambers of Commerce.—See Ely's *Socialism*, etc., 261, 267. On the British movement of business men to this end, see *The Voice*, December 20, 1894.

71. Professor H. C. Adams quotes the fact that between 1830 and 1845 it was the accepted policy of this country for the States to build railroads and canals. The experiment ended disastrously and caused the people of many States to so amend their constitutions as to forbid the

State to undertake again any industrial duties.—*Relation of the State to Industrial Action*, 68.

72. The Federation of Labor said nothing about civil service reform or about the destruction of the ginmill [in its labor creed, as given in note 54 of this chapter]. Yet, without the completion of these two reforms, every step that is in the direction of placing new powers in the hands of public officials will be viewed with the greatest distrust by the people. We believe in public ownership of telegraphs, telephones, and railroads, and municipal ownership of street-car lines ; but if the ginmills are to continue to create Tammany Halls in all parts of the country, and pothouse politicians, like some of the police captains and commissioners of New York and other cities, are to be managers of the railroad and telegraph systems, we for one want to stop right where we are and look the ground over a while longer.—*The Voice*, January 3, 1895. Being in a railroad town, the terminus of five divisions of various roads, when this chapter was edited, we found the railroad employees (whose voice in this matter will be influential, if not decisive) opposed to government ownership on the ground that it would make their life positions the sport and spoil of politicians—showing the need of emphasizing civil service reform as an essential part of the plan. On the relation of civil service to government ownership of railways, etc., see Ely, *Socialism*, etc., 287.

73. See Ely's *Economics*, 304. Professor Ely objects to government paying for the railways what it would cost to duplicate them rather than market value on the ground that "it would make a portion of the community bear the entire burden of a false public policy."—*Socialism*, etc., 290. Those who think the only argument they need to bring against government ownership of railways is to cry "socialism," will be surprised to find that the *Fabian Essays* (p. 251) argue not only that such ownership does not imply socialism, but also that it may be adverse to it. See next note also.

74. The strongest argument against the purchase of railroads by our government comes from the standpoint of a complete socialist, in the *Fabian Essays* (pp. xv, xvi, xvii) : "Governmental ownership of railways would involve the payment of several thousand million dollars to the present owners of railway securities, all of which must seek reinvestment. . . Nationalization of railways in the United States would mean the immediate expropriation of all small capitalists by the big ones . . . causing the crystallization of all capital invested in the other industries in the hands of such a comparatively small number of owners that the advent of socialism would certainly be almost instantaneous." This argument would not apply to government *directorship* of railroads.

75. The English nation, after a trial of free competition and no interference, as thorough as could well be made, has undeniably returned to the principle of governmental activity, which she had abandoned—a principle which recognizes as the function of the state the protection of the citizens and the furtherance of their material and social well-being, by every law and every activity which offers a reasonable guarantee of contributing to that end.—Ely, *Outlines of Economics*, 52. We believe that government, like every other intelligent agency, is bound to do good to the extent of its ability ; that it ought actively to promote and increase the general well-being ; that it should encourage and foster industry, science, invention, intellectual, social, and physical progress.—Horace Greeley, 1850.

76. Our railroads have generally been able to do pretty much as they pleased with our little legislature in this big State, with its small number of Senators and Assemblymen, and they have usually dictated the make-up of the railroad committees in both houses.—*New York Tribune.* See on general subject of control of legislation by corporations, Ely's *Socialism*, etc., 282–284. The passage of the railroad pooling bill through the House of Representatives in 1895 is ominous. Mr. Bryan took the position that every thoughtful man must favor the protection of the public either by competition or by public interference, and that the demand for public interference, not to secure low rates for the public, but to secure high rates for the road, was anomalous. Although the legislatures of 1895 were so-called "Reform Legislatures," elected by the landslide vote of 1894, they earned the reputation of being tools not only of the saloons, but also of the corporations, beyond all their predecessors—especially the legislatures of New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, and Arkansas. In discussing municipal reform, the toughs and immigrants receive too much of the censure. The so-called "best citizens" are more to blame, one set of them for not voting, another set for corrupting, by their secret traffic in franchises, the city government. "The corporations that furnish the funds, and the saloons through which they are dispensed, are the pillars on which the political boss erects his throne."

77. President E. B. Andrews doubtless represents an unorganized many when he declares himself in favor of a reversed Fabianism, in which industrial individualism is to be retained as far as safely possible, instead of socialism being the favored side. He says: "Let us resort to State agency only when, and so far as, this is rendered necessary by the power and disposition on the part of individuals and corporations to maltreat the public at large."—President E. B. Andrews, *Wealth and Moral Law*, 111. See also 47.

78. As a sample of such an alliance, at Davenport, Ia., I twice addressed the public under the auspices of a movement to secure "Sunday rest" which was started by Jewish clerks with the concurrence of their rabbi. They enlisted as the second line of battle the Knights of Labor, and they two enlisted for a third line of battle the preachers. An audience made up of all these elements, which could not have been united under any other reform, followed with enthusiastic unity of sentiment an argument against all Sunday work save of mercy and necessity.

79. The resolutions, transmitted to me in a letter dated May 3, 1888, were as follows: "Whereas, it is a noted fact that wherever working hours are long, wages are low; men and women become stunted, degraded, and brutalized. Short hours increase wages, and men and women have time to develop. Wherever short hours have been developed the race has been improved physically, mentally, and morally. *Resolved*, That the Central Labor Union condemns the employment of labor on Sunday and holidays established by law; the first has a tendency to rob labor of its needed rest and spiritual improvement; the latter breeds contempt for American laws and American customs. *Resolved*, That we will use our best endeavors to abolish Sunday labor and violations of established holidays. We will invoke the aid of the law in the furtherance of this object, and we invite all law-abiding citizens, and particularly those who wish to elevate labor, to cooperate with us." The Sunday meetings of labor unions, to which we found Mr,

Powderly opposed, the author believes are an injury to the cause of labor in that they not only alienate the natural allies of labor—the churches—but especially in that they tend to exclude from the meetings of labor, when so held, many of the most conscientious working men, who believe the day should be devoted to worship and rest, not to politics and business—not even to labor politics and labor union business.

80. See record of arguments made and action taken in my *Civil Sabbath*.

81. The argument following is the substance of the author's reply, in a hearing on the Sabbath law before a committee of the Pennsylvania Legislature, in 1891, to the question by Representative Fow: "Mr. Crafts, don't you think the world has greatly changed since the Sabbath law was originated, and don't you think the law ought to be changed accordingly?"

82. Christianity early obtained for the working classes of the Roman Empire this great blessing [the Lord's Day]. Under the prodigious impulse of the leading races of modern times toward the production and the acquiring of material wealth, there would have come, without some such day, an absolute breaking down of the physical power, a wearing out of the brain, and a corresponding moral degeneracy. In fact, the Christian Sabbath may be said to have saved the modern European and American races.—Charles Loring Brace, *Gesta Christi*, p. 410. The author made an argument for the Sabbath, from the standpoint of commercial interests exclusively, before the Boards of Trade of St. Paul and Little Rock. The Denver Real Estate Exchange, as such, supported by resolutions the movement there for the Sunday closing of saloons. The resolutions are given in my *Civil Sabbath*, in the lecture on Sunday Saloons, which is the Board of Trade address referred to above.

In a letter received at the time this page was going through the press, dated August 14, 1895, from D. De Leon, editor of *The People*, N. Y., a socialist paper, the following statement is made as to the function of government under socialism: "The 'government' of socialism is only the central directing authority in production. . . The scope of government will be, must be greatly curtailed. . . The difference between the 'scientific' anarchist and socialist is that the latter imagines he can get along without that central directing authority in production." The socialist who "imagines" he can get along without "government" in everything except "production" would be more "scientific" if he took the anarchist's position. "Personal liberty" in matters of appetite and lust is no more impracticable than in matters pertaining to greed. Dr. Edward McGlynn, in an article in *Donahoe's Magazine* (Boston), July, 1895, while condemning large fortunes as strongly as ever, rejects the popular doctrine that one cannot acquire a million dollars without personal dishonesty. "It is the machinery of distribution which is at fault," he declares. This machinery he shows to be faulty in three respects especially: (1) land tenure, (2) transportation, (3) money. Through these three channels, which society itself has constituted, unearned wealth gravitates into the hands of the monopolists. He regards land monopoly as the chief evil and single tax as the best remedy for it.—The status of the single-tax movement in the summer of 1895 is given in two articles

in *The Outlook* of August 24.—John Stuart Mill's proposal (George's *Progress and Poverty*, 304) is that the state should take, not past, but future increase of land values in increased taxation.—*Progress and Poverty* startled and held the attention of thinking people, because it boldly rested its case on one universally recognized industrial fact, and one almost universally accepted economic theory. The persistence of poverty in the midst of progress—deepest and most abject at the very spot where the accumulation of wealth is greatest—is the obvious fact. The theory that, of the various shares in distribution, land rent alone is an income secured without any corresponding service, that it absorbs all the advantages which accrue from superior soils and from superior location—the economic theory of rent—forms the second pillar of the single-tax doctrines. The statement of this fact and this theory, interwoven with wonderful skill, and yet wonderful simplicity, constitutes the substance of the single-tax literature—a literature which has perhaps done more than any other literature of the generation to give for the general reading public a meaning to economic theory and an interpretation to industrial facts.—E. T. Devine in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. See same periodical for January, 1895, p. 109, for concise discussion of proposed restrictions of trusts.—Private or company telegraphs only exist in the following countries: Bolivia, Cyprus, Honduras Republic, Cuba, Hawaii, United States.—*The Voice*, August 8, 1895.

LECTURE V.

1. Romans xiii : 1.

2. See also an earlier address of Dr. Hodge on "The State and Religion," published in pamphlet form by *The Christian Statesman*, Allegheny, Pa., from which can be obtained other books and pamphlets on the same theme, to which the paper itself is also devoted.

3. 1. Political power is rightly exercised only when it is possessed by consent of the community. 2. Political power is rightly exercised only when it subserves the welfare of the community. 3. Political power is rightly exercised only when it subserves the welfare of the community by means which the moral law permits.—Dymond, *Essays on the Principles of Morality*, etc., quoted as "the threefold foundation of John Bright's public life," in Hughes' *Philanthropy of God*, p. 50. Dymond shows that the moral teaching of Jesus Christ is as applicable to public as to private life.—The nation is formed in no transient and no external circumstance, but in the Eternal, the I AM [Exodus iii]. It subsists in no compact of men, but in the everlasting Will.—Dr. Elisha Mulford, *The Nation*, 392. The object of government is to establish the right in the relations of men with each other.—Professor Woodrow Wilson, *Handbook of Sociological Information*, p. 6. In the light of the truths just quoted it seems like a bit of humor to read the serious statement of the Brooklyn *Eagle*, "Religion has nothing whatever to do with the performance of the mayor's functions."

4. The duties which men owe to each other and to society are proper subjects of civil cognizance, but the duties which they owe to God are of moral obligation only.—Rev. Dr. James M. King, *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1 : 175. Any machinery of government which men have yet devised is too coarse and clumsy for so delicate a task as the inculcation and encouragement of faith.—Bishop Phillips Brooks.

5. Although Protestant denominations have of late unitedly refused national appropriations for their Indian schools, their record is not yet cleared up in the case of State appropriations, as was shown in the Baltimore preachers' meeting, where I heard, in 1893, the reading of a list of Protestant denominational institutions that were then being aided by the State.

6. The national amendment proposed by the National League for the Protection of American Institutions is as follows: "No State shall pass any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or use its property or credit, or any money raised by taxation, or authorize either to be used, for the purpose of founding, maintaining, or aiding, by appropriation, payment for services, expenses, or otherwise, any church, religious denomination, or religious society, or any institution, society, or undertaking which is wholly, or in part, under sectarian or ecclesiastical control." A similar amendment, proposed by President Grant, was introduced by the Hon. James G. Blaine in the House of Representatives on the 14th of December, 1875, was approved by the extraordinary votes of 180 ayes to 7 noes, but lost in the Senate by 28 ayes to 16 noes, lacking the requisite majority of two-thirds. It will also be remembered that both the Republican and the Democratic parties gave, in 1876, clear and decided pledges to the American people on the subject.

The constitutional amendment adopted by New York State in 1894, through the efforts of the League, is as follows: "Neither the State, nor any subdivision thereof, shall use its property or credit or any public money, or authorize or permit either to be used, directly or indirectly, in aid or maintenance, other than for examination or inspection, of any school or institution of learning wholly or in part under the control or direction of any religious denomination, or in which any denominational tenet or doctrine is taught."

7. In 1894 the Secretary of the Interior, Hon. Hoke Smith, advised the gradual withdrawal of aid to Roman Catholic Indian schools, and the appropriations of Congress were accordingly made on that basis.

8. See numerous official documents cited in Schaff's *Church and State*, in McAllister's *National Reform Manual*, and in Supreme Court Reports, cxliii : 457. The nation does not forget that it is "a moral person," even in war. In the *Instructions for the Government of the Armies of the United States in the Field* are these words: "Men who take up arms against one another in public war do not cease on this account to be moral beings, or responsible to one another and to God." On the relation of Christianity to the State, see documents of National League for the Protection of American Institutions, United Charities Building, New York; also address of its secretary, Rev. James M. King, D. D., on "Religious Liberty and the State," *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1 : 153; also lecture following on "Religious Liberty in Other Lands."

9. February 29, 1892, Trinity Church case, United States Supreme Court Reports, cxliii : 457.

10. See Lecture II, showing that the Bible rather expresses the "common Christianity" of all Christian sects.

11. It would at once put Christian integrity into a position of immense power . . . if, in the pulpit, the home, and the Sunday-school, we were to commence concertedly to treat such civic duties as attending

the primaries, going to the polls even if it rains, accepting official position even if it is repugnant to you, and sitting on the jury even if it interferes with your business, . . . as distinctly comprised within the domain of Christian obligation. . . What a wicked man will do on election day you can tell. What a good man will do you can't tell; it wouldn't be surprising if he didn't do anything. . . Singularly enough, a watery day is apt to mean a rum government. . . Piety doesn't like to get its feet wet. Wickedness is amphibious and thrives in any element.—Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, in *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1 : 436. The people, with the ballot in their hands, will be saying, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" as when they take into their hands the bread and cup of the holy sacrament.—Rev. Dr. Washington Gladden, *The Church and the Kingdom*, p. 38.

12. The bane of politics to-day is the boodler's selfishness. It will not be enough to put in its place the taxpayer's selfishness. City government is partly business, a reason why chambers of commerce should actively participate in it, as they are doing at last; and it is partly housekeeping, a reason why women should have city clubs, if not municipal suffrage also; but city government is also a matter of patriotism and of prayer, calling for high ideals and Christian enthusiasm. It was, therefore, a marked defect of the National Conference on Good City Government, held at Cleveland in May, 1895, which the author attended, that no word of prayer was heard in its meetings, which was the more surprising because the civic revival it represented was of Christian origin, and because the clubs participating were organized, in many cases, by preachers, and in most by Christians. Providence has been too manifest a power in American politics to be thus ignored. In striking contrast to this agnosticism stands the decision of the American Institute of Civics, in establishing its Department of Christian Citizenship, that more would be lost in intensity than would be gained in breadth by making it non-religious. This is also the position of the National Christian Citizenship League, 153 La Salle Street, Chicago. We need to get back to the starting point of Church philanthropy at the Beautiful Gate, and lift men out of their weakness and wickedness, out of their degrading poverty and corrupt politics, "*in the Name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth.*" Ninety-nine one-hundredths of the membership and money and moral force in all reforms is Christian—their very spirit is Christian—our civilization is Christian—the nation itself, says the Supreme Court, is Christian—why then should we be afraid to inscribe on our Constitution, our Thanksgiving proclamations, our charities, our reforms, "IN HIS NAME."

13. We will remember the tears that the Lord shed over Jerusalem, but we will remember, too, the cords with which he scourged out of the temple the knaves who were trying to convert piety and decency into shekels.—Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, in *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1 : 432. In spite of the sneers of machine politicians, our nation's present need is Christian statesmanship, and the injection of such a spirit into our public affairs is possible only under the lead of those who truly appreciate the significance of Christian principles. The attitude of Christian citizenship has far too long been apathetic and apologistic; its aggressiveness is the need of the hour.—Hon. H. B. Metcalf.

14. Of course no pulpit should, in any case, announce a *Sunday*

meeting in the interest of party politics. The press dispatches reported that the defeat of the Populists in Colorado in 1894 was partly due to the offense given to Christian voters by their Sunday meetings. Prohibitionists will lose no votes by confining their Sunday meetings to gospel temperance. Sunday politics should be left to the French and Spanish republics, as an un-American custom especially unworthy of reform parties.

15. The public has generally indorsed the statement of Hon. Mansfield Story of Boston in the annual address before the National Bar Association in 1894, that State legislatures are growing worse and worse year by year. *The Review of Reviews*, May, 1895, said: "In nearly every State where majorities were reversed in the elections of 1894, there has been great disappointment to both parties in the results as embodied in the work of the legislatures." Hence the demand for vetoes. But let not Christian citizens think that vetoes can take the place of votes. Many infamous bills are signed by reputable executives, under pressure; for example, in 1895, the governors of New York and Missouri, though elected as reformers, signed bills creating race-track gambling monopolies, in the first case in plain violation of a provision of the new Constitution, and in both cases under the hypocritical pretense of forbidding what they permitted.

16. Cardinal Vaughan has this discriminating word to say to his people on the separation of national legislative politics from local administrative politics: "When you vote at a Parliamentary election, you will properly be largely guided by considerations of party politics. The question then before you will be the kind of policy you desire to see carried into law. But when it is a matter of the adminstration of laws already passed, other considerations present themselves. You should then inquire, not what are the party politics of the candidate, but what are his qualifications for dealing with matters of practical administration. Is he honest and disinterested? Is he intelligent, prudent, painstaking, in sympathy with the end to be attained, and trustworthy?"—*The Outlook*, December 29, 1894.

Many "good citizens" have observed politics so superficially that even the Lexow investigation has not disabused them of the false idea that a bi-partisan board is a non-partisan board. In reality such a double board is a double bolt fastening the city government, to its own ruin, to national politics and the spoils system, which together constitute "the ring," the driving-wheel of the political "machine." Every office and contract becomes a prize for which both parties contend through their representatives on the board, and often offices and contracts are doubled to make an even "divvy." It is not a case of competition, but an up-to-date "combine," a pooling of the profits. The "boss," whose control of the metropolis in close elections makes him the arbiter of the State, so becomes State boss, as in Cincinnati, of *both parties*, and offers his man the mayoralty, with the privilege to "name his opponent."

17. That a better system of choosing candidates is imperatively needed is at last securing national recognition. The Reform party in South Carolina only a few months since redeemed its pledge to establish a system of "direct primaries," at which the names of all candidates should be submitted directly to all the voters of the party, instead of being referred to delegates from petty caucuses. In California, in the recent campaign, the Democratic party pledged itself to a law strictly

governing all primaries, and its candidate—the only successful Democrat in the North—advocated the requirement that every citizen must vote at the primaries in order to register for the general elections. In Minnesota, also, the St. Paul *Pioneer Press* finds among the legislators-elect a very general demand for a law regulating primary elections; while in New Jersey the present governor has recommended the very system of combining primary elections with registration which is meeting with such favor in California. Rarely before has there been so national a demand for the same State legislation. In many agricultural districts the primary is already in some measure what it should be. Particularly in the Southern States is it the custom of the farmers to attend the primaries in almost as great numbers as they attend the elections, and the party managers are time and again required by the pressure of public sentiment to submit directly to the voters not only the names of candidates, but questions of party policy. It was due to this custom that the people of the Ashland district in Kentucky were able to retire Colonel Breckinridge when nearly every politician favored him, and that the people of Louisiana were able to retire the lottery when the newspapers, even more than the politicians, had been bribed to favor it. In a similar way, in the North, the New England town-meeting system—which is being also developed in the Northwest—secures in the small towns a popular control of nominations. Even more important is the gradual extension of what is known as the Crawford County system. This system, which had its origin in Crawford County, Pa., requires the names of all candidates to be published in one or more of the county papers, and then submitted directly to the voters in a duly announced primary. . . The line of reform which everywhere commends itself to conscience and common sense is to extend by law to all primaries the provisions which have worked so well where adopted voluntarily. The first thing necessary is to place primary elections under the control of the law, just as regular elections are under its control. The next thing is to provide an official ballot on which the names of all properly indorsed candidates for party nominations shall be submitted to the party voters.—*The Outlook*, December 29, 1894. The author heard Rev. Dr. H. H. Russell, Secretary of the Ohio Anti-Saloon League, say that even of the men who attended his temperance meetings only one-tenth would respond affirmatively when asked to indicate by a show of hands how many of them had attended the last primaries.

All the above suggestions relate chiefly to primaries for national parties. But the crucial question is how to establish effective primaries for the non-partisan citizens' ticket in city elections. This was recognized as the chief problem of municipal reform at the national conference of city clubs in Cleveland in 1895. C. C. P. Clark, M. D., of Oswego, N. Y., submitted a plan, which that city has vainly asked the politicians of the legislature to allow them. He notes that hardly a large city in the land does not every year or two go to the legislature to have its charter changed because the "boss" or "ring" has captured the new machinery last granted by the legislature. His new machine is declared to be so changeful in itself as to defy the ring to capture it in its kaleidescopic movements. His plan is as follows: "1. Let the names of all the voters in a ward be deposited in a panel, publicly drawn therefrom one by one in the presence of the proper authorities, and distributed, as they are drawn, into equal lots of not more than two hundred

and fifty each. 2. Each of these lots shall constitute a primary constituency, shall be assembled in strict privacy by personal notice to each of its members, and, organized like a town meeting, proceed to select from among the voters of the ward, but not of its own number, and by the vote of a majority of those present, a representative elector. 3. The electors so chosen in each ward, being duly assembled in public session, shall elect and appoint the aldermen and other officers of the ward. 4. The electors chosen in all the wards of the city shall, also in public session, elect the mayor and other elective officers of the city at large. 5. These proceedings are to be repeated every second year. 6. Any officer of a ward or of the city, including representative electors, may be summarily removed by the power to which he owes his office."

The New York system of Good Government clubs, which are to be established in every voting precinct through a paid "promoter," was described as affording, when completed, a means of making nominations for city offices on a non-partisan basis of good citizenship; also the English plan, by which a few leading citizens in each ward name the most suitable citizen as candidate for alderman, often without opposition. Professor J. R. Commons urged that proportional representation would solve the difficulty; each interest naming for the general city ticket as many candidates as its tally of voters showed it would be able to elect. New York City's Committee of Seventy is yet another plan to be copied when possible. In most cities municipal reformers have thus far been able to do little more than choose on election day between candidates nominated at Republican and Democratic primaries.

18. WHERE NEW YORK PRIMARIES WERE HELD IN 1884.

Chart prepared by Robert Graham.

	LIQUOR SALOONS.					NEXT DOOR TO SALOONS.				NEITHER.				
	Tammany Hall.	*Irving Hall.*	*County Democracy.*	*Republican.*	*Total.*	*Irving Hall.*	*County Democracy.*	*Republican.*	*Total.*	*Tammany Hall.*	*Irving Hall.*	*County Democracy.*	*Republican.*	*Total.*
Congressional Convention...	6	7	6	..	19	1	..	..	1	3	..	3	..	6
Assembly Convention...	17	18	19	9	63	3	1	3	7	7	3	4	12	26
Aldermanic Convention...	17	19	19	9	64	3	1	3	7	7	2	4	12	25
Primaries.....	16	19	443	9	487	3	65	3	71	8	2	204	12	226
Totals...	56	63	487*	27	633	10	67	9	86	25	7	215	36	283

Apart from Saloons..... 283
In Saloons..... 633
Next Door..... 86

Total..... 1002

* The County Democracy had 712 primaries; other bodies only 24 each.

For full account of plans and tricks of New York primaries, etc., etc., see *Machine Politics*, by William M. Ivins, Harper's, 25c.

19. Ruskin notes that idiot etymologically means one who is entirely occupied with his own *private* concerns.—*Unto This Last*, essay iv. There are churches, not a few, and larger ecclesiastical bodies, that need to improve their church politics before giving points to the politicians. Let them unhorse the church "boss," break the ecclesiastical "ring," and rally the absentee voters to the church polls, to which only a score out of a hundred usually take the trouble to come.

20. According to the *Chicago Tribune's* annual report of crime at the close of 1894, there were 9800 murders reported that year (probably 10,000 in all) as against 6615 in 1893. "Crime," says Professor J. R. Commons, "has increased in forty years five times as fast as the population. Yet ministers of the gospel know little of that divine science, penology. . . Christians, along with others, have made wonderful progress in utilizing the results of physical science, steam, and electricity, but they know little of the results of social science."—*Social Reform and the Church*, 41, 42. In 1850 the criminals constituted 1 in 3500 of the population: in 1890 there were 1 in 786.5, showing that crime had increased nearly three times as fast as the population. . . In other countries, by wise measures of precaution, the progress of crime and mendicity has not only been arrested, but its relative proportion . . . has been steadily reduced. Here alone, among the great nations of the civilized world, crime is on the increase. . . We must get honest, competent, and faithful lawgivers; and herein, it appears to me, the true mission of the churches is set before them—saving souls where they may, but saving society at all hazards. In other words, the churches must henceforth take an active part in politics, not to secure the success of party, but to insure the defeat of every bad candidate without regard to party.—Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, *Charities Review*, 2: 314. Mr. F. H. Wines, Census Expert on Criminology, challenges the accuracy of the criminal statistics that seem to show a rapid increase of crime, because criminals on long terms are counted repeatedly, but there is no room for such mitigation in the case of murders (not murderers) committed year by year. Mr. Moody, in May, 1895, gave 750,000 as the criminal population of our country—500,000 of them young men. For those held in idleness in county jails he was securing a supply of good reading.

21. If a man neglects his neighbor the tax-gatherer will find him out and compel him to care for him at greater cost.—Atkinson, *Century*, August, 1887, 583. Christianity is the creator of our modern civilization, and it must also be its preserver. . . In all prisons, moral and religious culture should be the leading reformatory influences.—General R. Brinkerhoff, President National Prison Association, in Circular No. 5, Ohio State Board of Charities. I doubt whether the Christian should ever use this word "incorrigible." . . The guilt is not redder than the blood.—Rev. Dr. H. L. Wayland, *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1: 453. In the *Arena* for February, 1895, Rev. Dr. Samuel J. Barrows compares penology in Europe and America. "As a result of this comparative study, the penological reforms and improvements which seem to be needed in this country are the improvement of jails, the abolition of the lease system, the extension of the reformatory plan, the adoption of the indeterminate sentence with the parole system, the extension of

the probation system, both for youths and adults, as in Massachusetts; work for prisoners committed to jail on short sentences, a higher grade of prison officers, the abolition of the spoils system in relation to prison management, an allowance to prisoners of a portion of their earnings, and its application to the needs of their families; the extension of manual education and industrial schools among preventive measures, and the organization of societies for aiding discharged convicts, mainly in the direction of procuring thom employment."

The Lombroso school of penologists that seek the cause of crime in inherited peculiarities of the skull have proved nothing. Professor C. R. Henderson (*Dependents, Defectives, Delinquents*, 119) but expresses the prevailing sentiment of penologists when he says: "Among all the persons actually charged with crime, comparatively few can be distinguished from normal men by physical characteristics." Judge Wayland says, *ad captandum*: "The less the criminal's will is free, the more his body should be held fast." That laws with severe penalties, strictly enforced, are a great deterrent to crime and are seldom violated, is shown by the fact that in train robberies the United States mail is seldom disturbed, and also in the fact that many liquor dealers who do not take out State liquor licenses do pay internal revenue taxes. Swift, sure, severe punishments would greatly reduce the present epidemic of crime. On prison labor, see U. S. Department of Labor Report, 1885. On the indeterminate sentence, send to Concord (Mass.) Reformatory for pamphlet by F. H. Wines, Census Expert, on *Possible Penalties for Crime, or The Inequality of Legal Punishments. Papers on Penology*, by the editor of *The Summary*, Elmira Reformatory, are valuable. Circular No. 5 of Ohio State Board of Charities, Columbus, O., prepared especially for free use of preachers, gives Charles Dudley Warner's admirable description of the model reformatory at Elmira N. Y., which is based, as he says, on two propositions. "The first is that the object of imprisonment is not punishment, but the protection of Society and the change of the criminal into a law-abiding citizen. The second is that it is possible to change and create habits by coercive measures long enough applied to produce what physiologists call structural changes, physical and mental." The writer was surprised, on visiting this model prison of the world, as penologists deemed it, to find no chaplain, and told Mr. Brockway a story he had then just heard from Warden Durston at Sing Sing, one of whose former chaplains, on beginning his duties in that prison, had thrown his arm over the shoulder of a prisoner and asked, "Do you love Jesus?" The convict replied, "That's not what they put me in for." Mr. Brockway said the story explained, as I had anticipated, the lack of a chaplain—it was because he had not been able to find a preacher of requisite tact that was willing to take the position—Professor Monk's "Practical Ethics Class," held every Lord's Day, is, however, the best Bible class of which we know, and worthy of ministerial study, although the Bible itself is not used. We have felt constrained in editorial capacity to criticize the introduction into the Lord's Day of scientific lectures, having no ethical or religious features, in view of the abundant proof that the national habit of suspending work, in schools as well as in shops, in the interest of rest and worship has a very large place in the moral development of individual and social life, and therefore should be among the habits promoted in a reformatory.

22. Rev. Dr. H. L. Wayland (*Christianity Practically Applied*, 1:

446, 454) speaks satirically of "crimes so small as to bring them within reach of the law"—the stealing of railroads and States being out of its reach as the triumphs of "Napoleons of finance." Criminal law does not, like death, love a shining mark. "Statutes" is often misprinted "statues," and in some cases it is hardly an error, for many statutes against popular vices are only dead statues, "like a painted Jove holding idle thunder in their lifted hands."

23. The Sunday press has succeeded, in New York, Massachusetts, and New Jersey, in canceling the law it first broke, in the fear that eccentric citizens might some time insist that the law be obeyed. Afternoon editions were proposed in 1895.

24. The Congregational Home Missionary Society has set an example that other ecclesiastical bodies should copy, in forbidding its secretaries and missionaries to travel from one appointment to another by Sunday train. Denominations that adopt resolutions against Sunday trains sometimes assign a preacher to a circuit on which he can fill his appointments only by such a scandalous violation of the fourth commandment. That school-teachers as well as preachers have the national habit of law-breaking was impressively proclaimed by the act of the New York Legislature, in 1895, adding a penalty to its long-neglected law requiring scientific temperance education. The same legislature also enacted an effective penalty for its compulsory education law, which, like most other laws on the same subject, is violated by selfish parents and selfish employers alike—a penalty that should be widely copied, the withholding of the regular allowance of the State school fund from every city or town which, on investigation, is found to have failed to enforce the law efficiently. The freshest instance of lawlessness among respectable people is the revolt of the aforesaid teachers of New York State, in convention assembled, under the bad advice of their State Superintendent, against the scientific temperance education law of 1895. As a majority of these are women of the better class the incident throws a shadow over the claim that women suffrage would weaken the "boss" and strengthen the law.

25. Instead of legislative and executive officers controlling the vicious, they are, in many cases, controlled by them, with the permission of the virtuous. The foolish sheep accept guards nominated by the wolves from their own pack.

26. The Governor of Iowa was, in this case, very severe on the rioters, declaring: "The strike as conducted in many places in the recent past is revolution, is anarchy, is the incipient stage of civil war"—all oblivious of the fact that he was elected by violators of the prohibitory law, whose "revolution" and "anarchy" and "incipient civil war" he had himself abetted. It was very significant, during the Chicago strike, when many had donned the white ribbon as a badge of sympathy with the strikers, that many others put on silken miniatures of the Stars and Stripes as symbols of sympathy with law and order, and hoisted flags on poles that were usually bare, except on national holidays, to proclaim the same.

27. This same mayor was, during the same summer, reported as acting as umpire at an illegal Sunday ball game.

28. See the story of Mayor Nehemiah, Nehemiah xiii: 15–22.

29. Citizen—"I never see Captain Magood around any more."
Policeman—"He's not on the force any more. Got put out."

"Well! well! What for?"

"Absin'-moindedness."

"Absent-minded was he?"

"Yis, sor. He raided a gamblin'-den an' arristed a whole crowd o' city officials."

"But they shouldn't have been there."

"Av coorse not. He was so absin'-moinded he forgot to give them notice."

30. Our judiciary is the best part of our politics, but the part played by the courts in the World's Fair Sabbath-closing case was a comedy of errors, which we do well to ponder now that it is complete. First, a Federal District Court, by a vote of two to one, sustained the law of Congress for Sabbath closing, and issued an injunction against opening. Second, the national Chief-Justice, without argument, suspended the injunction temporarily, and afterward permanently. Third, Judge Stein, in a local court, enjoined closing. Fourth, Judge Goggin, with two associates, took the matter up, and the two associates having outvoted Goggin in favor of the Sabbath, he drove them from the judgment-seat and sustained the injunction against closing. Then, the directors having been led by lack of patronage to close in order to placate friends of the Sabbath, they were fined by Judge Stein for contempt, and so reopened. Last of all, when the Fair was over, to escape their fines, they secured the decision that Judge Stein had no jurisdiction. Comment is needless. Contempt of court is, in such case, no crime. Labor leaders talk of "a proprietary class judge." See *Fabian Essays*, p. 148.—Judges receive railway passes, and, unfortunately, have been known to use them.—Ely, *Socialism*, etc., 284. The judge who issued an injunction, in 1893, against Ann Arbor strikers, it was reported, was carried to court for that purpose on a special train freely furnished by one of the interested railways. A Chicago lawyer, in a paper read to its Sunset Club, said: "The rich and powerful are seldom indicted and never tried—well, hardly ever." On the same evening another lawyer said: "No man who is tried in the Criminal Court of Cook County, who is without means to hire able lawyers, can get a fair trial."—Stead's *If Christ Came to Chicago*, 355, 357. On Bureau of Justice to defend the poor, see Report of Boston Associated Charities, 1892, 29.

31. Resolutions adopted by the Indian Conference, held under auspices of the Board of Indian Commissioners, at Washington, January 16, 1895.

Resolved:

I. That it is the duty of the Federal Government to maintain at Federal expense, under Federal control, schools adequate for the secular education of all Indian children of school age not otherwise provided for.

II. That the Government ought not to throw this burden on the churches, nor to subsidize schools under church control; and now that nearly all the churches have ceased to accept subsidies from the Government, all such subsidies to church schools should cease as soon as the present contracts expire.

III. That this Conference heartily indorses the position taken by the Administration, that the educational work of the United States Government should be so carried on as to expedite the day when the work of public education will be remitted to the several States and Territories.

IV. That while, in the secular education of all Indian children, local

schools are indispensable, non-reservation schools should be maintained and developed as a most efficient educational factor in assimilating the Indian with our national life, until the reservations are abolished and the Indians come into our State and Territorial public schools.

V. That we pledge our hearty support to the Secretary of the Interior in his declared purpose "to develop a competent, permanent, non-partisan Indian service"; that we call on Congress and on the public press to cooperate with him to that end; and that we indorse the secretary's recommendation of a bill making feasible increased compensation to army officers when appointed as Indian agents.

VI. That, in view of the disclosures of the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes concerning the corruption and gross injustice in the Indian Territory, we affirm the paramount duty of the United States Government to protect the right of every resident within its national limits to life, liberty, property, and a share in the public provision for education, and that no past compacts can exempt the nation from the fulfilment of this its supreme obligation.

32. Qualifications for voting in the several States may be learned from Document 12 of the National League for the Protection of American Institutions, Charities Building, New York. On the new voting machine see *The Chautauquan*, February, 1895, 619 f.—In Sweden a man seen drunk four times is disfranchised.—In the State of Indiana we have practically put a stop to all bribery. Not a case of bribery has been known in the last two elections in that State. Yet five years ago Indiana suffered more from bribery than any other State in the Union. It was a pivotal State; the parties were closely divided; only about 5000 votes held the balance of power and could change the electoral college not only in Indiana but in the nation at large. Consequently thousands of dollars from both political parties went into that State for "campaign purposes"—largely for bribery. The price for single votes would go as high as forty or fifty dollars. The evil reached such a serious state that most heroic measures were necessary to meet it, and we discovered those methods by the shrewd inventive capacity of some of our public-spirited people. In the first place we adopted the Australian ballot system. Then we adopted a bribery law. According to this law we do not punish the man who sells his vote; we punish only the man who buys votes. We consider that the man who sells his vote is usually a poor fellow who has nothing else to sell, but we place a price upon his vote. We say that a man's vote in the State of Indiana is worth $300, and if a bribe-giver has not paid him $300 he is entitled to sue him for the difference. Thus if a man receives only $5 dollars for his vote, we give him the right of action in the courts for $295 against the man that bought his vote. And this right of action holds not only against the man who actually bought his vote but also against all persons who handled the money, back to the ultimate source, so far as it can be traced. . . Two cases have been tried under it before the courts where persons who sold their votes have collected the difference from the vote-buyer. It only needed this test in the courts to demonstrate to the vote-buyer that he was putting himself into the hands of a person he could not trust, and moreover that he was defrauding a poor man of the only thing which he had to sell. It would be well if a similar law were enacted in other States.—Professor J. R. Commons in *The Kingdom*, July 5, 1895.

33. See statistics of venal voters by Professor J. J. McCook, in *Forum*,

September and October, 1892. See Ivins' *Machine Politics*, 58, 72, for proof that formerly one-fifth of New York voters were subjects of legal bribery as hired workers. The *New York World* of June 1, 1894, contains a telegram dated at New Haven on preceding day, to this effect: "Ex-Governor Waller said to-day concerning the statement made by E. J. Edwards, relative to Mr. Waller, in the Sugar Trust inquiry: 'What Mr. Edwards referred to in his testimony was what I said at our last General Assembly regarding the use of money in elections. I then said it was notorious that the Democratic party had in the campaign of 1892 spent $100,000 dollars for election purposes, of which $60,000 was used corruptly. I also remarked that I had no doubt that the Republican party in the same campaign had as large a fund and used as little of it for legitimate purposes as the Democrats did.'"

34. By civil service reform is meant a reform in the methods of making appointments to and removals from the government service so as to have them made with the view to the candidate's or office-holder's fitness or unfitness, and not with reference to his services to some particular politician or political organization.—Theodore Roosevelt, *Handbook of Sociological Information*, p. 7. Hon. Carl Schurz, in *The Relation of Civil Service Reform to Municipal Reform* (Leaflet 3, National Municipal League, Philadelphia) says: "The object of civil service reform is not merely to discover, by means of examination among a number of candidates for public employment, the most competent, but to relieve the public service, as well as our whole political life, as much as possible of the demoralizing influence of political favoritism and mercenary motive, and thus to lift them to a higher plane, not only intellectually but morally." This address also condemns exceptions in national civil service for offices nominally "confidential," and for others requiring bonds. It advocates for laborers on municipal works the registration system of Boston, used only in our navy yards, by which all applicants found suitable by a simple examination are entered for employment in the order of their application. For promotions he would have examinations cover knowledge required by duties of higher office as well as the candidate's record in the office he has occupied. He also urges that the selection of the heads of city departments, which he would confide to the Mayor, should be limited by law, in the case of Commissioner of Public Works, to civil engineers; in the case of Police Commissioners, to the police; so in fire department, etc. *Good Government*, the official journal of the National Civil Service Reform League, on the basis of what had been done to promote civil service reform by the Cleveland administration, and what was promised in message and cabinet reports in 1894, said on December 15 of that year (which issue contains annual report and address): "Everything, or nearly everything to which the civil service rules are applicable, will have been brought under them before the 4th of March, 1897." If this sanguine prophecy is fulfilled—and it will require a continued, if not increased popular demand to secure it—there will yet remain anti-spoils battles to fight in the fields of State and city politics. The paper above quoted cites, as showing how the "spoils system" spoils work, one of the 1890 census enumerators, who, being sent among certain Indians, added up as "agricultural products" not only wheat and corn, but also horses and wagons, oxen and plows, farm acreage, timber on the stump, etc. Another, ignorant of decimal points, reported 103 deaths among 100 people. This paper also shows

that the Railway Mail Service in 1885, not having been disturbed by party changes in twenty years, showed but 1 error to 5575 pieces handled. Through the two subsequent changes in party supremacy this was increased to 1 in every 2834 in 1889, but under civil service rules in 1890–94, decreased to 1 in 7144. Professor H. C. Adams makes an interesting contrast between Germany and the United States in the matter of state action and individual initiative; state action being most favored in Germany, individual initiative in the United States, with the result that Germany has bungling sewing-machines but well-governed cities, while we have better machines and worse cities.—Professor H. C. Adams, *Relation of the State to Industrial Action*, 71. Professor Ely would have civil service reform include besides the examination, the preparation of candidates for the civil service by "a civil academy, surpassing in equipment the military and naval academies by as much as civil administration is more important than the army and navy in a country devoted to the arts of peace."—Ely, *Socialism*, etc., 348. Daniel was trained for statesmanship in such an academy (Dan. i). Ponder the monumental stupidity of laws making it possible for such a governor as the pardoner of anarchists to remove from their place in the administration of State charities such experts as Dr. Dewey, Dr. Gillett, and Dr. Frederick Wines, to make place for party followers! For a concise and able defense of civil service reform, read chapter on "Patronage in Offices Un-American," in *Historical and Political Essays* by Henry Cabot Lodge.

35. The writer was present in the Senate the week following the delivery of these lectures when the Senate Committee reported this bill adversely, but with three of the nine senators on the committee making a minority report in its favor.

36. That the present system of taxation is unequal and is easily and commonly evaded by the rich is shown, with facts and figures, in Stead's *If Christ Came to Chicago*, ch. iii, "Dives the Tax Dodger." Mr. Stead's remedy, a law providing that property may be condemned by the city at the price at which the owner has appraised it, presents two difficulties: First, that the owner may wish to hold his property for use, not for sale; and, second, that the city is not yet municipalized so that it could wisely buy and sell miscellaneous property.

Platform of New York Tax Reform Association.	*Members.*
1. The most direct taxation is the best, because it gives to the real payers of taxes a conscious and direct pecuniary interest in honest and economical government.	Cooper, Hewitt & Co. Dodd, Mead & Co. George R. Read (President Real Estate Ex.). John Jacob Astor. Bolton Hall, Vice-president and Secretary. Abendroth & Root Mfg. Co.
2. Mortgages and capital engaged in production or trade should be exempt from taxation: because taxes on capital tend to drive it away, to put a premium on dishonesty, and to discourage industry.	Kemp, Day & Co. Phelps, Dodge & Co. Drexel, Morgan & Co.
3. Real estate should bear the main burden of taxation: because such taxes can be most easily, cheaply, and certainly collected, and because they bear least heavily on the farmer and the worker.	Rogers, Peet & Co. Beadleston & Woerz.

4. Besides real estate taxes, corporations should pay in taxes only the fair value of the franchises they obtain from the people.

5. Our present system of levying and collecting State and municipal taxes is extremely bad, and unreflecting tinkering with it is unlikely to result in substantial improvement.

6. No legislature will venture to enact a good system of local taxation until the people, especially the farmers, perceive the correct principles of taxation and see the folly of taxing personal property.

THEREFORE: We desire to unite our efforts to keep up intelligent discussion and agitation of the subject of taxation, with a view to improvement in the system and enlightenment as to the correct principles.

F. W. Devoe & Co.
Spencer Aldrich, Vice-president.
Hanan & Son.
Amos R. Eno.
James M. Constable.
Smith Ely, Jr.
Hugh N. Camp, Trustee.
Gen. C. T. Christensen, Trustee.
Passavant & Co.
Parker, Wilder & Co.
W. R. Grace & Co.
Lord & Taylor.
Butler Brothers.
Gordon & Dilworth, and others.

It will be seen that the basis of this "Platform" is the doctrine of Henry George, whose views could not be discussed adequately in the space available in the lecture, but should be carefully studied in his very able and readable book, *Progress and Poverty*. We subjoin a condensation of his theory, with notes upon it.

"Land, labor, and capital are the factors of production. The term land includes all natural opportunities or forces [land, apart from improvements, also water, minerals, etc.]; the term labor, all human exertion [superintendence as well as manual toil]; and the term capital, all wealth [money, buildings, tools, etc.] used to produce more wealth. In returns to these three factors is the whole produce distributed. That part which goes to landowners as payment for the use of natural opportunities we call rent [even when owner is also user]; that part which constitutes the reward of human exertion [including salaries] is called wages; and that part which constitutes the return [to owner or borrower] accruing from the increase of capital [including so-called "rent" of buildings] is called interest.—Henry George, *Progress and Poverty*, 119, 137. Thus far economists are generally agreed. Mr. George would use the word "profits" to designate all compensation for risk, including high rates of interest. He defends the taking of interest proper on the ground that capital would increase if invested in cattle (p. 133). He might have noted that the word capital, from *capita*, head, is supposed to have originated when one's wealth was so many "head of cattle." He might have explained Biblical prohibitions of interest (see "Usury" in Concordance) as applying always to loans to the poor, not to loans for industrial production. The economic theory that interest is "the reward of *abstinence*" from consumption of wealth is laughed out of court in this age of multi-millionaires. As to wages, Mr. George controverts the theory of a limited "wage fund," provided in advance by capital, and shows, by comparing a factory's assets at the two ends of a week, that wages are in reality a part of the product of the labor for which they are paid (p. 47), the remainder of the product—less interest on capital and repairs—being the surplus value of which labor is defrauded under the guise of profits and rent, which last Mr. George argues that no man should receive, since in no case did the original

occupiers buy the land, but God gave it to mankind, whose ownership Mr. George would have legally restored by taxing land up to its full rental value. The gains of improved production, he holds, are now wholly absorbed in rent, leaving wages ever at the point of mere subsistence (p. 163). "The rent of land is determined by the excess of its produce [whether occupied by farm or factory] over that which the same application can secure from the least productive land [whether in fertility or utility] in use." This is the theory not of Mr. George only (p. 123) but of economists generally. Inasmuch as rent is dependent on natural fertility and location, and increases by the growth of the community, not by its owner's labors, rent is called "the unearned increment" (304). "Rent, the creation of the whole community, necessarily belongs to the whole community" (263). Mr. George defines the "single tax" in *Financial Reform Almanac* for 1895 as the concentration of all taxes on land having a value irrespective of its improvements, in proportion to that value. Mr. George thus concisely expresses his objection to private rent: "Rent, in the economic sense of the term, is that value which attaches to land itself, irrespective of any value which attaches to buildings or other improvements on or in the land. It has thus its origin not in individual exertion but in social growth. Originating in social growth and increasing with social growth, it belongs properly not to individuals but to society, and constitutes the natural or appointed source from which those social needs which arise and increase with social growth should be met."—*Handbook of Sociological Information*, pp. 75–76.

Professor Ely suggests: "The taxation of unused land at its full selling value. . . The exemption of improvements from taxation for a period of years. . . No land belonging to the nation, to the States, or to local political units, should hereafter be sold, but should be leased."—*Socialism*, etc., 301, 302. See Professor Ely's comments on Mr. George's explanation of usury in *Social Aspects of Christianity*, 14.

President E. B. Andrews says: "To tax realty alone would be fairer than our present method. . . To turn the golden stream of economic rent partly or mostly into the State's treasury, where it would relieve the public of taxation in burdensome forms, seems to me extraordinarily desirable. . . It would be my thought not to tax land alone, yet I would draw the State's main revenue [ninety per cent., he says] from a land tax. . . We can at one stroke abate the principal evils of landholding and of taxation both [the two noxious birds that Henry George seeks to kill with the one stone of single tax]."—President E. B. Andrews, *Wealth and Moral Law*, 54, 60, 62. [On evils of present modes of taxation, see 50–54, *e. g.*, New York State's total tax on personal property is on a smaller sum than the personal property of its thirty wealthiest citizens.] The British National Liberal Federation adopts the special taxation of ground values as the main feature of its domestic program.—*Fabian Essays*, 32. The American Federation of Labor, in 1894, adopted, by vote of 1217 to 913, the following plank: "The abolition of the monopoly system of landholding, and the substitution thereof of a title of occupancy and use only." See also "Land, Tax on," in Alphabetical Index at close of this book.

37. Mr. Wheeler calls it "a tariff for equalization," and thus states and defends it: "Congress cannot delegate to any commission the authority to *legislate* on the tariff question, any more than it can delegate

to another commission authority to *legislate* on interstate commerce. Nor would it be wise, if it were constitutional. But what Congress can do is to make the laws and constitute a commission to apply and *administer* those laws. It is as a part of the *administrative*, not legislative, department of government that the Interstate Commerce Commission is constitutional. A tariff commission constituted on similar lines would also be constitutional. Let Congress enact the law that the tariff on certain lines of industry shall equal the difference in the labor cost of production here and abroad, and a tariff commission could be empowered to ascertain that difference and apply the law to each industry."

The following is the record of the action of the National Board of Trade, which met in Washington, January 29–31, 1895: "Mr. Allen presented a resolution from the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce favoring a tariff commission, which was ably seconded by Mr. Wellman of the same city. The resolution, which was then adopted, reads as follows: '*Resolved*, That we favor the creation of a permanent non-partisan tariff commission, to consist of eminent publicists and business men, whose duty it shall be to collect information affecting American industries and trade relations, the wage rates in various countries with which the United States has commercial intercourse, to collate the same, and report to Congress from time to time, making such recommendations on the questions considered as will, in the opinion of the members of the commission, best subserve the interests of the country.'"

The question of constitutionality caused the resolution to be drawn so as to make the function of the commission advice rather than administration in order to avoid controversy at this stage of the agitation. Two other commercial voices should be considered in this connection. On Wednesday, December 12, 1894, the New York Board of Trade and Transportation resolved that the business interests of the country are entitled to a rest from tariff agitation. Mr. Andrew Carnegie, in *The Forum*, March, 1895, in a tax and tariff program, concludes with the following: "The tariff once settled, there should be tariff legislation only in the second year after each census, except in an emergency like the present, when a deficiency in the national revenues and sound policy require additional sums to be collected from such imports as are luxuries of the extravagant rich, and not necessaries of life of the frugal poor. . . Under such a policy, the tariff would be substantially taken out of politics and treated as a business question."

As samples of what many economists think of the tariff, we submit the following: Tariff is a less important question than many others which do not receive one-tenth part so much attention.—Ely, *Socialism*, etc., 334. (See President E. B. Andrews to the same effect, *Wealth and Moral Law*, 33–34.) Professor Ely shows that high tariff has only a small influence, though a real one, in promoting monopoly.—*Socialism*, etc., 299. If "protection" is to be continued, it should be so amended as to protect not only producers but the people, by authorizing not only proclamations of reciprocity but also of unlimited free trade in any protected product whose price should be advanced by the formation of a trust, in accordance with the watchword, "Fair trade or free trade." In a debate on tariff between Messrs. Horr and Harter, both ex-congressman, at which the author presided as conductor of the Monona Assembly, the point which most impressed the audience was Mr. Harter's undisputed statement that the American manufacturers can produce goods as

cheaply as his foreign competitor, even with a higher rate of daily wages to pay, which does not mean a larger total of wages, but the tariff enables him to secure from the American buyer a higher price and so a larger personal profit.

For Republican free documents in favor of protective tariff, apply to American Protective Tariff League, 135 West Twenty-third Street, New York. Also read works of Henry C. Carey, "the American apostle of protectionism." For Democratic free documents in favor of tariff for revenue only apply to Tariff Reform League, New York.

38. In connection with the question whether the two great parties will not be broken up by their internal divisions on both tariff and silver, the following extracts should be pondered: The issue which naturally came to the front after the settlement of the questions growing out of the late Civil War was prohibition. It had marched to victory in a dozen of States, when, in 1854, it was rudely interrupted by the sudden advent of the Kansas-Nebraska struggle, the Dred Scott decision, the formation of a new political party, and the strife which soon culminated in four years of bloody war. After the war the people again turned to the suppression of the saloon. Two States, Kansas and Iowa, abolished the traffic. A dozen more were clamoring for prohibitory amendments. The politicians, working upon old alignments, felt the ground slipping from under their feet, and to maintain party lines and retain the friendship of the liquor vote *they injected a partisan tariff discussion into the political arena.* The tariff as a partisan question had been long dead. For more than twenty years there had been no difference between Republicans and Democrats, as such, upon the tariff: but it would serve the politicians to smother the disturbing prohibition agitation, and—"After us, the deluge!" The far-sighted liquor men were quick to accept the logic of the situation. *The Bar*, an organ of the retail liquor dealers of New York, thus voiced the sentiment of the liquor trade in its issue of December 20, 1887: "The tariff is, therefore, a friend of the [liquor] trade, and all should lend themselves to stirring it up. While politicians have their hands full with the tariff they will be sure to let everything else slide, and prohibition, which has lately been making so much noise, will evaporate." . . . But has this attempt to smother vital issues stayed the political "deluge"? A wrecked Republican Party in 1892, a wrecked Democracy in 1894, the wrecks of thousands of prosperous industries during the last two years, an army of unemployed, deeper and deeper rumbles of discontent, furnish an answer.—*The Voice.* Mr. E. J. Wheeler, the editor of *The Voice*, fortifies his claim that prohibition should have been—should now be—the chief issue by showing in that paper, July 10, 1890, and in his book on *Prohibition*, 192, that the prohibition amendment and no-license campaigns have shown the voting strength of prohibition, even when the votes were taken under great disadvantages, to be four-fifths of a national majority.

As to the money question the vote on the President's gold loan bill in 1895 showed the division to be not between Republicans and Democrats but between the large cities and the rural districts, between creditors and debtors—the latter favoring silver, the former opposing. The following, from President E. B. Andrews, is a sample of what economists are saying: "Increase in the value of money (falling prices) robs debtors. It forces every one of them to pay more than he covenanted—

not more dollars but more value, the given number of dollars embodying at date of payment greater value than at the date of contract. . . The demonetization of silver, then, and the consequent advance in the value of gold, has had the pernicious result of tainting with injustice every time-contract made anywhere in the gold-using world since 1873. . . Falling prices always mean the discouragement of production on the one hand and the hoarding of money on the other, both of which effects are most deleterious, since what society needs is that the production of wealth should be promoted in every possible way."—*Wealth and Moral Law*, 65, 67. On the other hand, it is held by many who agree with the foregoing view that our country cannot remonetize silver except in conjunction with like action of other leading nations. Mr. E. J. Wheeler proposes that both gold and silver be demonetized, and that money consist (with a few exceptions, if necessary) of government notes redeemable in gold or silver bullion at market value. The following, from *The Independent* of February 21, 1895, is a fact of value in this connection : "The Bank of France has the option of paying its notes in silver or gold. It pays silver when for domestic purposes or if it thinks the gold would be hoarded ; but it always pays gold when for export, if the commercial conditions of international trade warrant gold exports. In such cases the bank tries to remedy the trouble, if it can, something like the Bank of England. In this way France is kept on a gold basis, so far as foreign trade is concerned. The Bank of France is a private institution, though the French Government appoints the governor. The bank has a note circulation of over $700,000,000. Its holdings of gold are very heavy, amounting to $400,000,000 ; it holds but $250,000,000 of silver. The note circulation is limited by law to $800,000,000, while the amount of metallic reserve is left to the discretion of the bank. Its charter expires in 1897. The large note circulation is due to the fact that the French people do not use checks, but pay their debts mostly in bank-notes. France and Great Britain have about the same population, though Great Britain has but half the amount of circulating money per capita." See diagram on next page and note below it.

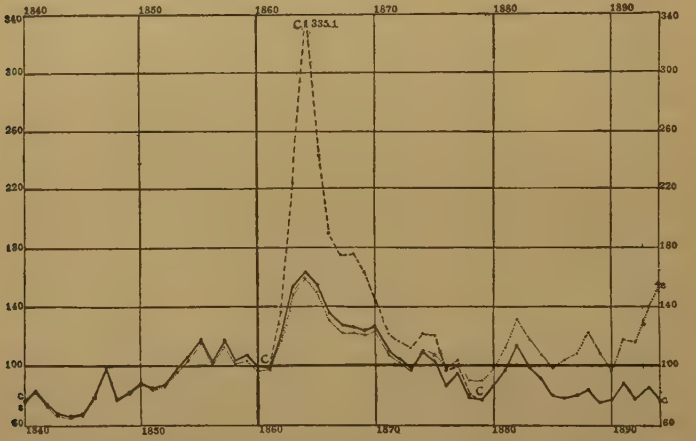
39. Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, himself a man of wealth but a student of charity, says of taxation : "Society is bound, first, to provide for the poor ; second, to institute legislation which will tend to lessen poverty and crime ; third, to effect these objects society has a right to resort to taxation, and this taxation may be imposed upon property either uniformly or differentially, as the judgment and conscience of the community may decide. In other words, the superfluous wealth may properly be made the subject of differential taxation, and thus made to contribute toward the cure of its twin brother, the evil of pauperism. . . In the income tax of Great Britain the principle has long been in operation, and there, as well as in this country more recently, succession taxes have been imposed at different rates, according to the direction in which the property is to be distributed."—*Charities Review*, 2 : 306–307.

40. The only right tax is one not merely on income, but on property ; increasing in percentage as the property is greater.—Ruskin, *Fors Clavigera*, lecture iv. This we understand to be the "new budget" of the Liberal party of Great Britain in 1895. Benjamin Kidd notes as the characteristic feature of current legislation, "the increasing tendency to raise the position of the lower classes *at the expense of the wealthier classes*. . . It underlies the demand for graduated taxation, which may

be expected to increase in strength and importunity . . . for the revision of the hereditary rights of wealth," etc.—*Social Evolution*, 284. New Zealand has a progressive property tax beginning at $25,000. In the *Economic Review*, London, March, 1895, Mr. J. C. Goddard advocates graduated taxation on the basis of "eighteen pence in the pound," but with these abatements: "Incomes exceeding $1500 but not exceeding $5000 to the extent to which derived from professional or business pursuits would abate two-thirds; incomes exceeding $5000 to the extent mentioned would abate one-third, and the tax would be charged on the balance only."

PRICES OF FARM PRODUCTS FOR FIFTY-FIVE YEARS.

Combined average prices of wheat, rye, oats, corn, cotton, sugar, tobacco, and meat for each year, from 1840 to 1894—stated in currency, gold, and silver.



G, Farm prices in gold; S, Farm prices in silver; C, Farm prices in currency.

The most interesting part of this table and diagram is their bearing upon the free silver discussion. . . . The decline began, not in 1873, but in 1870, three years before the demonetization of silver. At that time, from 1867 to 1870, prices had again become stationary for the first time since the war. Then the decline began again, and there was as much of a fall in the three years prior to 1873 as in the five years after, stopping entirely when resumption had been accomplished and stability in our currency had been secured.—*The Voice*, April 11, 1895. Diagram prepared by George B. Waldron.

41. Two reforms . . . are, I imagine, certain to come. Bequests will be made more difficult, through laws of taxation diverting to the public chest large percentages of the sums thus bestowed; and, quite as important, a more Christian sentiment will render the use, by wealthy men and women, for their own behoof, of wealth which they have not created, first disreputable and then disgraceful.—President E. B. Andrews, *Wealth and Moral Law*, 25. "The question, What shall be

the limitation in the power of bequest, is entirely legitimate," says Dr. Behrends. He quotes John Stuart Mill's suggestion, that the restriction be placed not on what one may bequeath, but on what one may receive by bequest, so scattering, but not confiscating wealth.—*Socialism and Christianity*, p. 170. The editor of *The Christian Advocate*, Rev. J. M. Buckley, D. D., April 12, 1894, gave the following personal creed as to taxation: "We go no further than to hope for and promote, according to our ability, the increase of taxes upon legacies above a large amount, in proportion to the amount transferred, and such increase of taxes on unimproved real estate as will serve as a stimulant to its sale or improvement, without either directly or indirectly confiscating its value." The Illinois Bar Association has indorsed a bill limiting the amount which any one person can inherit to five hundred thousand dollars; and long ago John Stuart Mill favored a limitation of this kind. This is, perhaps, too radical a proposition for consideration at the present moment. The civilized countries of the world, however, increasingly incline to favor the taxation of bequests and inheritances and the tendency is to make the tax doubly progressive—increasing it, on the one hand, as the relationship of the person receiving it becomes more distant, and, on the other hand increasing it as the amount of property taxed becomes greater. The tax amounts in some instances, in parts of Switzerland and in some of the Australasian colonies to twenty per cent. in cases of large estates inherited by distant relatives. There is a general feeling, however, that distant relatives should not inherit at all, because they do not constitute a part of the modern family.—Ely, *Socialism*, etc., 312. See also 275–276, 291. *The Inheritance Tax*, by Dr. Max West, *Columbian College Studies*, 75 cents, gives full history of inheritance taxes, showing that in 1893 they existed in nearly every European country and in twelve of our States.

42. The Internal Revenue report for year ending June 30, 1894, shows the number of liquor dealers to be 241,419, and their payments to the government revenues $116,674,040.29. There is 1 liquor dealer, including druggists, to every 50 voters, to every 278 population.—*The Voice* (May 24, 1894) showed that in 1893 total revenue, State and national, was $178,000,000, as against at least eight times that much loss in cost of liquors and their consequences.

43. Report can be obtained of General Miles, Governor's Island, N. Y.

44. It should be remembered as one of many cases where government of the people has been defeated by government of the politicians, that South Carolina by an official plebiscite ordered its legislature to enact a prohibitory law. The politicians, instead, made the State a monopolist rumseller, putting State dispensaries even into counties that had been under local option prohibition. Even when States were in partnership with the liquor traffic only to the extent of receiving a share of the profits in licenses, Horace Greeley said: "It is disreputable enough for the individual, under the pressure of personal wants, to become a liquor seller; but for the whole State to become such, and this with no necessity, but from pure greed and cowardice, is infamous."—Quoted, *Our Day*, January, 1895.

45. The question at issue is not the sale of liquors for medicine and arts. That such sales should be conducted by the State the author concedes. The question is, Should the State conduct the beverage sale on

the Gothenburg plan? Some good people say Yes. Their arguments are entitled to respectful treatment. What is the essence of their logic?

The major premise is: The growth of the liquor traffic and attendant evils is due chiefly, not to the appetite of the drinkers, but to the cupidity of the sellers. The minor premise is: If the liquor should be sold by government employees, whose salaries were not to be affected by the sales made the profits being devoted to schools and charities and other public uses—since cheapening the liquors would be considered dangerous—the element of private profit and personal cupidity would be removed. The conclusion is: Eliminating private profit from the liquor traffic thus would greatly reduce the evils resulting from it.

The trouble is with the minor premise: We might show that in Gothenburg the element of private profit is not eliminated. The corporation which sells the liquor for the Government is forbidden to make more than five per cent.—a handsome and secure dividend—on its sales of liquors, but it is not forbidden to make additional profits on refining liquors and furnishing glassware—for even alcohol sold by the State makes men "smash things" and drunkenness increase [1880-91, 120 per cent., while population increased but 52 per cent. See *National Temperance Advocate*, March, 1895]; but we will not spoil the argument by such facts, but deal with the Gothenburg plan *per se*—that is, with Gothenburg left out. The fact is that the plan, even in theory, does not eliminate cupidity from liquor-selling, but only extends it to a larger number of people, retaining private cupidity and adding social cupidity.

There were in the United States in 1895 about half a million liquor-sellers, including about one-half that number of bartenders on salary. How much private cupidity is to be eliminated by substituting liquor-sellers who are government appointees on good and secure salaries? Every day we see men gladly exchanging the chance of large profits for the security of smaller salaries. These appointees would be at least prevented by private cupidity from allowing the sales from which their salaries are paid to so decrease as to make their services no longer necessary. And how is the saloon to be considered as "out of politics" when liquor-selling salaries are a part of the "spoils." The officials involved would be bound, even though civil service protected them against party changes, to protect themselves against the Prohibitionists?

But profits and politics under the new plan reach out beyond the liquor sellers and fasten the golden chains of cupidity upon the whole people, lessening direct taxes (the tax-payer doesn't mind paying twice as much in indirect taxes caused by drink), endowing schools and charities, muzzling reformers even with a golden muzzle, enlisting, in short, the cupidity of seventy millions in a vain effort to eliminate the cupidity of half a million.

Self-love might be enlisted against the drink if people could see for what vast sums they are taxed by drink through the poverty and crime it causes; but Canada's *Grip* is true to nature in representing the farmer in the attitude of fighting the tax-collector who demands one hundred dollars in direct taxes, but in the companion picture as saying, with his head turned the other way, "You may take two hundred dollars if you will do it unbeknownst to me."

The new plan will not only increase cupidity, but will reenforce appetite, its partner, also, by making indulgence in drink seem safer and more

respectable. What government permits is to most people "right." The guarantee of purity in liquors will work like the "Queen's certificate" years ago in the hands of harlots, to make sin seem safe, although Dr. Janeway of New York said to me that the worst poison ever put in drinks is the alcohol. Let us have done with the fallacy, exploded by centuries of experiments, that the alcohol will not do its deadly work wherever or by whomever sold.

46. Repressive taxation on industries of this character [liquors] exercises but a feeble influence in the direction of repression.—Ely, *Outlines of Economics*, 280.

47. Berlin license law for prostitutes in 1880 required that licenses should be given only to those who had been confirmed and taken communion.—Brace's *Dangerous Classes*, 128. A mate to our law requiring that liquor licenses be given only to persons of "good moral character."

48. Speech in favor of license.—"It is a necessary evil, and why should not the State derive some benefit from the traffic? A large portion of the community is bound to buy, and if we should prohibit the sale, the would-be purchasers can send to other States, and the sales will go on uninterrupted by the effort of any legislative action. The revenue to be derived from this source would aggregate fully $100,000 annually. With this amount of money placed at our disposal we could relieve all destitution, pay a large amount of our annual expenses for running the government, and derive financial profit from the evil which we are powerless to prevent."

This speech would serve equally well as an argument for licensing liquor, lotteries, or harlots. It sounds like a speech for the licensing of liquor, but it is in fact a North Dakota speech for a "high license" of the Louisiana lottery. It is in order to say, in behalf of Christian advocates of high license: "O wad some power the giftie gie us," etc.

49. The *Chicago Tribune* says: "High license, reasonably and properly enforced, is the only barrier against prohibition in the present temper of the people in almost every State of the Union." In January, 1889, the *Omaha Bee* said: "The only effective way to block prohibition is to enforce rigidly high license."—Quoted, *Our Day*, January, 1895.

50. Here is, of course, the supreme argument for the prohibition of the liquor traffic. Children and young people must not be allowed the first taste of liquor, and the exciting agent must be removed from the reforming drunkard.—Professor J. R. Commons, *Social Reform and the Church*, 108. A government should so legislate as to make it easy to do right and difficult to do wrong.—Gladstone. Here is the position of ninety-nine of every one hundred prohibitionists in America: While educating public sentiment to State and National prohibition, backed by a party that believes in prohibition, we would have every license law for liquor selling repealed, and then we would have passed as many and as strong prohibitory restrictive laws as possible, such as the following: Any man who sells liquor on Sunday shall be sent to jail; any man who sells liquor to a drunkard or to a minor, or who sells liquor on election day, or after midnight, shall be sent to jail; and just as rapidly as we could get public sentiment up to another slice of prohibition we would favor the getting of it, as, for example, any man who sells liquor to be drank on his premises, or after nine o'clock P. M., should be sent to jail, etc., etc. Whenever the law speaks we should have it speak invariably in the

language of prohibition. Never let the law whisper sanction or money consideration for the selling of liquor as a beverage.—*The Voice.*

51. In 1892 the Democrats, with 47.2 per cent. of the vote, got 59.8 per cent. of the Congressmen; and in 1894 the Republicans, with 48.1 per cent. of the vote, elected 68.8 per cent. of the congressmen. This is shown by *Proportional Representation Review*, Chicago, December, 1894.—Because the majority ought to prevail over the minority, must the majority have all the votes, the minority none? Is it necessary that the minority should not even be heard? Nothing but habit and old association can reconcile any reasonable being to the needless injustice. —John Stuart Mill, *Considerations of Representative Government*, quoted, *Socialism of John Stuart Mill*, p. 138. See also p. 151. The key to social reform is some effective kind of minority or proportional representation.—Commons, *Social Reform and the Church*, 85.—In the California Congressional election in 1894 the Republicans had 110,442 votes; the Democrats, 87,768; the Populists, 55,289; the Prohibitionists, 7346. Yet the Republicans have six congressmen; the Democrats, one; the Populists and Prohibitionists, none—that is, the 110,542 Republican voters have *six times as much representation* in Congress as the other 150,503 voters of the other parties of the State. There is no justice in such a system.—*The Pilot, Nashville, Tenn.*

52. Read *Direct Legislation*, by J. W. Sullivan, Humboldt Publishing Co., New York, 25c. Also send for circulars to Direct Legislation League, Box 1216, New York.—One of the chief advantages of the referendum and initiative is that they would teach Americans to discuss measures more and men less. Our politics has an unfortunate tendency to become merely personal . . . what American slang expressively designates as "peanut politics."—Ely, *Socialism*, etc., 346. The Imperative Mandate is another provision whereby the constituents of any legislator, finding that he is not faithfully representing them, may recall him before his term of office expires and elect another representative in his place. This the author does not approve. It substitutes delegation for representation (see Flint's *Socialism*, 303) and makes the legislator a mere bulletin-board for his constituency. It leaves no time to test the wisdom of any act in which he differs from the momentary sentiment of his constituents, who set him apart, in the division of labor, to think on politics more thoroughly than others have time to do.

53. The usual form is to forbid it "except" as a monopoly of the race-tracks, disguising this permission under seeming prohibition. The following law, passed by Congress during the Harrison administration, is a sample: An Act to Prevent Book-making and Pool-selling in the District of Columbia. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it shall be unlawful for any person or association of persons in the cities of Washington and Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, or within said District within one mile of the boundaries of said cities, to bet, gamble, or make books or pools on the result of any trotting race or running race of horses, or boat race, or race of any kind, or on any election or any contest of any kind, or game of baseball. Sect. 2. That any person or association of persons violating the provisions of this act shall be fined not exceeding five hundred dollars, or be imprisoned not more than ninety days, or both, at the discretion of the court.

Approved March 2, 1891.

54. Mr. William T. Stead tells a story of a reformed man who testified in a noonday prayer meeting in Chicago: "All my life I have been devoted to whisky and politics. Now, thanks be to God for his redeeming mercy, I am delivered from both." It is not the desertion of politics, however, but its conversion that a wise convert will propose.

55. It is an omen of evil that, except in ritualistic churches, prayers for the President, Governor, mayor, are few, fewer, fewest, respectively, even in the pulpit, and almost unheard of in prayer meeting or home worship.

56. Petitions, letters, personal interviews are good, better, best. As to petitions the old method of petitioning by miscellaneous signatures, obtained hastily at the door and on the street, is not only slower, but more likely to result in mistakes than the new method, by deliberate vote, after explanation and discussion, in citizens' meetings, labor lodges, and church associations. These indorsements of organizations also show, by the name of the organization, just what sort of people are favoring the movement. Write to National Bureau of Reforms for information as to proposed reform legislation, national and State, in behalf of which petitions, letters, and lobbying are needed. Since the lectures were delivered, the Secretary of Agriculture has abolished the free distribution of seeds. Let us hope that the correspondents of congressmen will now find time to write them about social reforms, which are the seeds of national prosperity.

57. Men upon each line were brought sharply face to face with the fact that in questions as to wages, rules, etc., each line was supported by twenty-four combined railroads [before the Chicago strike]. . . An extension of this association . . . and the proposed legalization of "pooling" would result in an aggregation of power and capital dangerous to the people and their liberties as well as to employees and their rights. . . Should continued combinations and consolidations result in half a dozen or less ownerships of our railroads within a few years, the question of government ownership will be forced to the front, and we need to be ready to dispose of it intelligently.—United States Strike Commission Report, 26, 27–28. So great has become the importance of transportation in our day that the control of it by a monopoly is the most far-reaching tyranny now made possible by our economic life.—Ely, *Outlines of Economics*, 61. On injustice and cruelty of railways, see also pp. 60, 65, for instance, seven thousand employees killed in 1892 chiefly through lack of safety appliances.

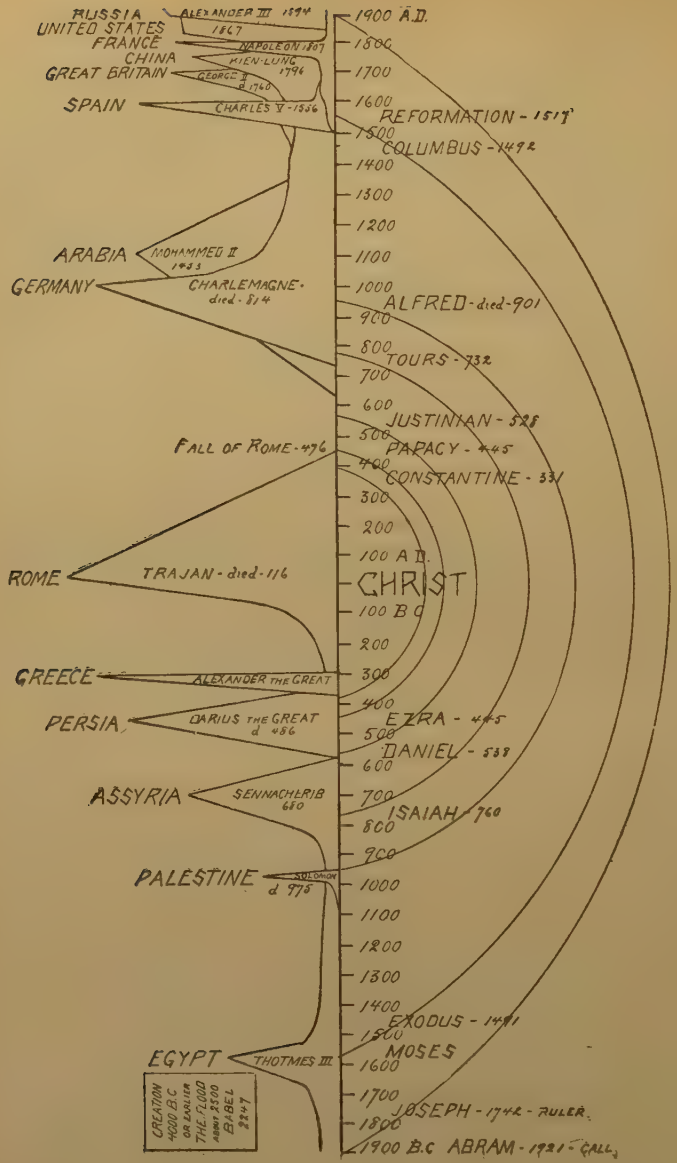
58. The marshaling of industries in companies and battalions is to bring with it a subordination of men to men, of the many to the few, more complete than has ever prevailed since feudalism.—President E. B. Andrews, *Wealth and Moral Law*, 40. The dangerous classes politically are the very rich and the very poor.—Henry George, *Progress and Poverty*, 307. As this book goes to press, one of the burning questions of social reform is the "department store," against whose underselling in books, groceries, etc., the smaller tradesmen are protesting, and seeking to turn combination back to competition. All such efforts are against nature. The evils of combination can only be cured by crowding it forward into cooperation. That is the meaning of anti-monopoly in these pages, and is the only anti-monopoly for which there is either reason or hope.

59. To those who challenge our right to make Sabbath laws we reply

that, to a republic, they are laws of self-preservation, as consistent with liberty, nay, more, as essential to it as any other laws to prevent bribery, ignorance, the corruption of the home, the overwork of the toilers, the freedom of worship. *Good Health*, a periodical of the Seventh-day Adventists, the chief opponents of Sabbath laws, speaking of another evil than Sabbath-breaking, said: "The great sin-suppressing force of civilization is the civil law, and always will be so long as men build their characters on so low a plane that fear of punishment rather than the love of what is good and best and truest, the love of right itself, is the restraining motive." The context shows that by "sin" the writer means *wrongs to man*, and so reading the sentence, it is an unconscious admission of exactly what advocates of Sabbath laws claim as to their relation to immorality. To protect health, to prevent crime, to promote intelligence and morality, to punish wrongs to man, the State protects the Sabbath as a day of freedom *for* worship and *from* work, save works of necessity and mercy, and private work by those who observe another day. A republic cannot endure without morality, nor morality without religion, nor religion without the Sabbath, nor the Sabbath without law.

More satisfactory results wait on the development of a non-partisan city "machine" as complete and effective as is possessed by the corrupt city leaders of the national parties. Till then, if Christian citizens are to make themselves effective in the primary, it would seem to be necessary that they should have a pre-primary to agree upon some course of action. The stay-at-home voters in the elections of 1894 in the United States numbered five and a quarter millions, most of them, no doubt, persons who, having stayed at home on the night of the primaries, thought the candidate nominated unworthy of their suffrage.

APPENDIX. PART SECOND.


RUSSIA
ALEXANDER III 1894
UNITED STATES
1867
FRANCE
NAPOLEON 1807
CHINA
KIEN-LUNG
1796
GREAT BRITAIN
GEORGE II
d 1760
SPAIN
CHARLES V - 1556
ARABIA
MOHAMMED II
1453
GERMANY
CHARLEMAGNE
died - 814
ROME
TRAJAN - died - 116
GREECE
ALEXANDER THE GREAT
PERSIA
DARIUS THE GREAT
d 486
ASSYRIA
SENNACHERIB
680
PALESTINE
SOLOMON
d 975
EGYPT
THOTMES III
CREATION 4000 B.C OR EARLIER
THE FLOOD ABOUT 2500
BABEL 2247
1900 A.D.
1800
1700
1600
1500
1400
1300
1200
1100
1000
900
800
700
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400
300
200
100 A.D.
CHRIST
100 B.C
200
300
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1700
1800
1900 B.C
REFORMATION - 1517
COLUMBUS - 1492
ALFRED - died - 901
TOURS - 732
JUSTINIAN - 528
PAPACY - 445
CONSTANTINE - 331
FALL OF ROME - 476
EZRA - 445
DANIEL - 538
ISAIAH - 760
EXODUS - 1491
MOSES
JOSEPH - 1742 - RULER
ABRAM - 1921 - CALL

APPENDIX. PART SECOND.

OUTLINE OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

The chart opposite is designed to fix in the memory, by two simple devices, an outline of the world's history, as a background for the chronological data following and for other studies of historic details. By way of preface, the date of creation is noted as "4000 B. C. or earlier." Bible history would allow the expansion of Usher's estimate, 4000 B. C., to meet the shrinking figures of geology, which now require only 8000 to 10,000 years as the age of man. (See recent studies of the glacial age by Professor G. F. Wright and others.) The flood is placed at about 2500 B. C. (The Bible gives no exact date.) It is significant, in connection with the biblical records of creation and the flood, that the latest word of science (Charles Dixon, *Fortnightly Review*, April, 1895) is that the dispersal of life was not, as previously held by science, from the poles, but from a central equatorial belt of land. The confusion of tongues is placed at 2247 B. C. That all languages have branched out of one is the ever-strengthening verdict of science.

The first device given in the chart to aid the memory to hold a sufficient outline of universal history is the representation of the great world-empires and others by a succession of peaks, arranged in chronological order, the height approximately indicating the relative size of these empires, at their largest extension severally, and the base showing their duration exactly, each empire being marked with the name of the ruler under whom it reached its largest geographical extent, usually accompanied by the date of his death, if known. The first great world-empire, that of Egypt, is accordingly marked with the name of Thotmes III., who reigned about 1600 B. C., just preceding the Ramessids, under whom the empire declined because of their injustice to their Hebrew slaves. The next great empire to arise—a smaller one, however, than any other on the chart in geographical extent—was the kingdom of Solomon, who died 975 B. C. Then arose the empire of Assyria, which reached its largest extent under Sennacherib about 680 B. C. It was succeeded by the empire of Persia, which reached its greatest dimensions under Darius the Great, who died 486 B. C. Then came the greater but briefer Greek empire under Alexander the Great, in the

fourth century B. C. After a period of petty kingdoms, Rome reached its widest sway under Trajan, who died 116 A. D. After Rome fell, 476 A. D., there came another period of petty kingdoms, but early in the eighth century the new Roman empire of the Germanic tribes began to develop, and reached its widest sway under Charlemagne, who died 814 A. D. The Mohammedan empire of Arabia, which had begun in the seventh century, reached its widest sway under Mohammed II., about the middle of the fifteenth century. Spain had the next turn at pre-eminence under Charles V., who, in 1556 A. D., was both King of Spain and Emperor of Germany. Great Britain reached its largest territorial sway under George II., who died 1760, when India and Canada had been gained and the other American colonies had not been lost. China reached its largest extent under Kien-Lung in 1796, before Russia and Great Britain had secured portions of its territory. France had widest sway in 1807, when Napoleon had conquered all Europe except Great Britain, besides portions of Asia and Africa. The United States reached its largest dimensions in 1867, when Secretary Seward purchased Alaska. Russia—the only country in the list here given, save the United States, which was in 1895 as large as it had ever been—reached the dimensions then existing under Alexander III., but is likely to put this statement out of date at any time by new additions.

The dates and names given furnish an outline of history that can easily be copied in memory. But it should be buttressed and supplemented by the second device, suggested by a briefer use of it by Professor W. W. White, which connects two similar events of similar dates, the one before, the other after, Christ, by a semicircular line. In 1921 a majority of the people of the United States, at present rates of centralization, will live in cities of eight thousand or more inhabitants. This is naturally associated by contrast with the rural period of Abram, who was called 1921 B. C. A line from our own time 1900 A. D. to 1900 B. C. helps us to remember the age of Abraham. So it is easy to fix in memory the year when Moses was born, 1571 B. C., by associating it with the date when Luther, a kindred spirit, nailed the theses to the church door and so inaugurated the Reformation—the latter date being made of the same figures with one transposed, 1517 A. D. The same line associates the year of the discovery of America, which we easily remember, 1492 A. D., with the year of the exodus, 1491 B. C., which we should otherwise forget. King Alfred, the poet statesman, died 901 A. D., which helps us to remember that Solomon died 975 B. C. The battle of Tours, 732 A. D., which turned back the Mohammedan armies forever from Europe, is naturally associated with the divine overthrow of Sennacherib in 760 (sung by Isaiah, and so fixing his place in history),

by which the Assyrians were driven back for a century from Palestine. Justinian, who promulgated his Christian code of laws in 528 A. D., we link with Daniel, who, in 528 B. C., prophesied of the world's conquest by the law of Christ. The beginning of Papacy, 445 A. D., and fall of Rome, 476 A. D., we associate with the rebuilding of Jerusalem by Ezra, 445 B. C. The story of Constantine beholding the cross in the sky as the token of victory, 331 A. D., we remember by association with a similar legend of Alexander the Great, who, in 333 B. C., when about to attack Jerusalem, is said to have been turned back by beholding the High Priest in his glorious robes, because he had previously seen the same figure in a dream.

In the center of the chart is CHRIST, the Lord of time as well as of eternity, whose royal marks, "B. C." and "A. D.," are on all the facts of history.

CHRONOLOGICAL DATA OF HUMANE PROGRESS.

SHOWING THE INFLUENCE OF CHRIST ON THE EIGHTEEN CHRISTIAN CENTURIES SINCE THE NEW TESTAMENT WAS COMPLETED.

I shall read the history of the world aright only as I read it through the mind of Christ.—Rev. A. J. BEHRENDS, D. D., in *Homiletic Review*, February, 1885.

The centuries are all lineal children of one another.—CARLYLE.

Geography and chronology are the eyes of history,—Professor H. B. ADAMS.

> "Henceforth my heart shall sigh no more
> For olden time and holier shore;
> God's love and blessing, then and there
> Are now and here and everywhere.
> All of good the past has had
> Remains to make the new time glad."
>
> —WHITTIER.

Histories formerly recorded little save politics, the stories of kings and their battles. Recently men are writing the histories of *peoples*, with special reference to their domestic conditions in various ages. We seek to give each reader in these data the facts and forces and philosophy out of which he may construct a universal history, not of politics or of peoples, as such, but of *moral progress*; including politics and social conditions, so far as they are vitally related to liberty, charity, and reform. In this view we have noted chiefly those dates that are milestones in man's moral and spiritual advance, with only so much reference

to kings as may show more clearly in history the hand of the King of kings. We have recorded inventions and discoveries in this newest testament of the life of Christ, because they have been made, as every world exposition so clearly exhibits, almost wholly in Christian nations—gunpowder and the mariner's compass being almost the only inventions effectively introduced to the world by the aged nations of pagan culture, and one of these an invention the world might well have spared. The first telegraphic message, "What hath God wrought!" is a fitting motto for the whole patent office. "Every invention that gives a man larger and easier mastery over nature, and liberates his spirit a little more from the necessity of continual drudgery, promotes the coming of the Kingdom."

For individual or social study of the Christian centuries, so appropriate and interesting in these closing years of the latest and best of the series, we recommend: White's *Eighteen Christian Centuries* (Appleton); Thompson's *Ninteen Christian Centuries* (A. Craig & Co., Chicago); Joy's *Rome and the Making of Modern Europe* (Chautauqua Press); Ulhorn's *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism* (Scribners), and especially, Brace's *Gesta Christi* (Armstrong).

No more timely subject for a Christian reading circle or series of lectures could be found. For a ten months' course we suggest two centuries each for the first two months, three centuries each for the next three, one century each for the last five; and like divisions for ten lectures. For each century write out answers to following questions: What of the governments and laws and politics of this period? What of the social condition and liberties of the people? What of education? What religious gains and losses? What progress or decline in morals? What eminent men? What great battles? What discoveries or inventions? What great books? What is the chief characteristic of the century? Now that cyclopedias, dictionaries, and standard books are published so cheaply that almost every family or reading club can own a good reference library, or has a cheap or free public library at hand, there are few who cannot, if they will, give several hours per week to such a course of reading as is outlined here, or to one of those suggested in later pages.

SECOND CENTURY.*—About the middle of this century Claudius Ptolemy promulgated his astronomy, in which our earth is the chief and central planet, a view which was held until, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Copernicus, Kepler, and Newton restored and improved the system Pythagoras had declared 500 B. C., which, so improved, is the

* For Biblical data of earlier centuries see Biblical Sociology and Biblical Index in closing pages of this book. For a discussion of the Christian centuries, see pp. 33–41.

system now taught. Galen's introductory work in anatomy belongs to this century. Pliny the Younger, in 102, wrote his well-known favorable letter about the early Christians, their simple worship on a "stated day," and their pure lives. In this century Rome reached its largest extent under Trajan, by the conquest of the Dacians or Parthians, and it is called "the happiest period of Roman history" in that the office of Emperor, having ceased with Nero to be hereditary, was now filled by men chosen because of superior ability by the Prætorian Guard or the legions. (Their virtues were those of public administration, not of personal character.) For the first time five emperors in succession died natural deaths. But these best emperors were made persecutors by their piety. They could not rise to the height of tolerating Christianity since it would not tolerate the sixty thousand idols in the Roman Pantheon. Against them it is estimated that it sent out sixty thousand manuscript copies of the Gospels during this century, in which the third, fourth, and fifth persecutions of Christians were instituted severally by Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, two of the "good emperors," and Septimius Severus. But the persecutions were unavailing. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church." Philosophers as well as emperors attacked the new religion. Next to Christianity the most important moral force in this century was the Stoic philosophy, of which Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius were the most eminent exponents. All may read in the "Confessions" of the last named sentences on virtue as beautiful as ice crystals, and as cold. Stoicism taught restraint of passions in contrast to Epicurean indulgence, but it also antagonized Christianity, whose gentler, gladder virtues it could not appreciate. Christianity was also attacked by several advocates of Neo-Platonism, one of whom was Plutarch, the author of the well-known biographies. The skepticism of Lucian and Celsus also hurled against Christianity in vain nearly all the sophistries that Thomas Paine and Robert Ingersoll have since gathered up from the battle-field where they had rusted since those ancient defeats. Those early debates benefited the Church by making more exact its statements of doctrine. It was in this century that the New Testament books, all written in the previous century, were collected and separated from various spurious and uninspired writings. The great names of this century are Tertullian, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Justin Martyr. The word "Catholic Church," meaning universal church, was first used in this century.

THIRD CENTURY.—The Roman empire passed its zenith and began its decline in the closing quarter of the preceding century, whose glorious sun set in blood; and the third century was one in which "madmen

seized supreme authority," and encouraged, instead of repressing crime. This century illustrates how a nation may have wealth, art, learning, refinement, and yet lack the very essential of civilization, namely, a civil government that securely protects the rights of all. Heathen culture at its best, even in Rome, whose special talent was law, could not develop such a government, lacking as it did the Christian conception of the sacred personality of every human soul. Such governments could be permanently established only by leavening the people with that root idea of liberty and suffrage. This century was stained by four persecutions ; those of Maximinius, Decius, Valerian, and Aurelian, in spite of which Christianity steadily advanced in its gradual conquest of the outwardly decaying empire, which began at this time to feel the attacks of the less corrupt and so more vigorous northern barbarians. The increasing catacombs, where the Christians buried their dead, many of them martyrs, and where they often hid themselves, are symbols of the evangelistic mining and sapping by which heathenism was about to be overthrown. At the end of this century there were five millions of Christians, despite nine preceding persecutions. But there was an omen of evil inside the Church, in the beginning of that asceticism which was to become monkery; and there was also a shadow of future mischief in the new title of the bishops, " Papa," or father, which became " Pope."

Fourth Century.—The opening years of this century are stained by the tenth and last persecution, that of Diocletian, who burned whole congregations—one of them on a Christmas, locked in the church where they persisted in gathering to sing their Christmas anthems, despite his order to the contrary. In other cases he chained groups of Christians together and drove them into the sea. But " love many waters cannot quench, neither can the floods drown it." (See p. 34.) In spite of persecution Christianity continued so influential that the next emperor, Constantine the Great, moved not by piety, but by politics, thought it good statesmanship to protect and favor and afterward profess and establish Christianity, and suppress heathenism. The " sign " by which Constantine conquered his people's favor was the cross. The Church, however, did not conquer by the sign of the crown, but weakened in quality at least. " Church and State " from then (325 A. D.) till now has shown itself not a case of those God has joined that no man should put asunder. During this century image worship and auricular confession also were practised by some, though condemned by others. The Arians, who acknowledged Christ more than man but technically less than God, also originated in this century, and, so far from being

"liberals" in theology, often debated about the Trinity with blood-red swords. As the leading characteristic of Rome in the first century was cruelty, in the second probity, in the third, anarchy, so, in the fourth, it was pomposity in Church and State. Constantine's new court at Constantinople was Oriental in pomp as well as place, and the Church, having become wedded to the State, began to imitate its pomp before the century's close. Persecution had given place to prosperity, but power had also given place to pomp. While Christianity suffered losses in gaining the aid of thrones and soldiers, legislative influences were then set at work by which all Europe has been transformed in matters of liberty and charity, making us hesitate to say that the fourth century was a receding wave. Christianity had lost in depth, but gained in the extent of its influence. At the close of this century it had grown to ten million souls and was influencing millions more. In this connection we should consider the radical changes made by Constantine in the Roman laws and so in the laws of all Europe, his abolition of crucifixion, and of gladiatorial murder, and his laws bearing upon women, children, captives, prisoners, purity, which, as *Gesta Christi* shows, are avowedly borrowed from the law of Christ, and which, with the completer work of Justinian, have helped to create a recognition of that fundamental law in all political and social progress. During this century also, beginning with Constantine (321 A. D.), the three main features of that other leading factor of progress, Sabbath laws, were introduced, namely, the prohibition of work for gain, of amusements, and of judicial proceedings. To this century belongs that most instructive effort of Julian, the successor of Constantine, to restore paganism, whose priests and idol-makers, having lost their business, and whose devotees, having lost their opportunities for indulging in lust and drunkenness under the respectable guise of religion, made such a loud opposition that Julian, nominally a Christian, but really a free-thinker, thought it politic to furnish them in himself that respectable leadership which such a party in all ages craves. We are reminded how "history repeats itself," as we see him gravely marching to the restored temple of Venus between lines of drunken and lecherous devotees. His patronage, even his persecutions were in vain, and it is reported that he died exclaiming, "O Galilean, thou hast conquered!" Whether he said so or not, that was the fact. His two successors restored Christianity, and also the divisions of the empire into Eastern and Western, as they had existed under the immediate predecessors of Constantine. Out of this division was to come, later, a corresponding division of the Church into Greek and Roman. The century closed in the midst of the Gothic invasions by which the Western Empire was soon to fall.

In this century Roman art, which had begun to decline in the second century because of the reaction upon Rome of its barbarian provinces, continued to decline because it had been so associated with what was pagan and impure that it was hated by the now dominant Christianity. (See Goodyear's *Roman and Medieval Art.*) Those who regard art of itself as a moral force would seem to have forgotten that highest skill in art was not able to prevent, if indeed it did not hasten, both moral and national decay in Rome and Greece, Babylon and Egypt. While sculpture, in which art had been least pure, did not recover its former rank until the Renaissance, architecture began to revive before the end of this century in the building of cathedrals called "basilicas," because copied from the public halls or business exchanges of that name, which was appropriately applied to the churches because it means the King's house. In 400, church bells were first introduced in separate bell towers called "campanile," because first used in Campania by Bishop Paulinus. As "The King's Business House" appropriately became the name of those churches that were copied from secular buildings of that name, so in the next century, when the domed cathedrals began to be built after the fashion of the great Roman baths, they retained and Christianized that name also as "baptisteries." In both kinds of cathedrals the interiors were more and more adorned with Byzantine art from Constantinople, Constantine's new capital of the Roman Empire. Another Oriental art influence that appeared, not in churches but in palaces—in Spain and Sicily at least—was the "Arabesque," which came back with the crusaders from Mohammedanism, in the seventh century, but which is mentioned here to complete our brief record of the first period of Christian art, which extends from the closing years of the fourth century to the end of the tenth, and may be concisely characterized as the Basilica-Baptistry-Byzantine period of early Christian art. It was in this fourth century that Ambrose laid the foundations of choral singing and church music in his "Ambrosian Chants." This is also the period of the Nicene Creed. During this century the present canon of the New Testament was formally ratified, and December 25th was designated as Christmas.

Fifth Century.—For a century from the second division of the Roman Empire in 364 A. D., history is chiefly occupied with successful barbarian invasions of the Western Empire, which fell in 476, in its own twelfth century, overthrown by Goths, Huns, Vandals, and vices. Among the causes of Rome's fall were: First, the decay of Roman courage and virtue through luxury and sensuality; second, her wolfish cruelty to conquered nations, which prevented the development of any

unifying patriotism in the vast and varied empire, such as would have come to the rescue in her hour of weakness. The last of the great secular world-empires had fallen, but a new spiritual empire, "the Kingdom of God," was coming to power. Its real power was not, however, that which now began to assert itself in the Church, whose Roman bishop, Leo I., in 494, only eighteen years after Rome's fall, secured a certain supremacy over other bishops of Western Europe; but what was claimed by Popes in the eighth century and afterward was not only not claimed but, in some cases, condemned by the earlier Popes. The Oriental churches, of course, refused subjection to the Roman Pope, and also the churches of Scotland and Wales, and the Waldenses. (See Wylie's *History of the Waldenses*.) The so-called "Athanasian Creed" probably belongs to this century. The most noted church leaders were: Theodoret, Cyril of Alexandria (who is presented in Kingsley's *Hypatia*, which, with Ebers' *Homo Sum*, pictures the age), Pelagius, who denied original sin; Nestorius, father of the Nestorians; St. Patrick, whose simple faith Ireland would do well to imitate; Chrysostom, "the golden-tongued"; Jerome, translator of the Bible into the Latin Vulgate; and, greatest of all, Augustine, who said: "O God, thou hast made us for thyself, and our souls are restless till they rest in thee." His writings were chiefly theological, but he contributed a valuable arrow for the temperance quiver when he showed that drunkenness is not a single sin but enwraps many, including lust and murder. During this century, as in the preceding, Christians were persecuted in Persia. Their numbers in all the world increased during this century to about fifteen millions.

SIXTH CENTURY.—We have now entered "The Middle Ages," but not yet "The Dark Ages." (Read Barnes' *Brief History of Medieval Peoples*.) [Both these terms are somewhat vaguely used. As "ancient history" may be distinctly classified as the period of the successive world-empires of Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome, ending in the latter's fall in 476 A. D., so the "Middle Ages" may be distinctly classified as the period of petty feudal states unified only in Rome's new ecclesiastical world-empire, a period which continued to the Reformation, in which modern history begins. Rome proves her genius for government by a thousand years of civil and another thousand years of ecclesiastical supremacy in Europe. The term "Dark Ages" is appropriately applied to the last half of the Middle Ages, from the tenth to the sixteenth century.] Although the Western Empire had fallen before this sixth century, the Eastern Empire continued, and presented in this century the illustrious name of the Emperor Justinian, in whose codification (529–34) of Roman law—the foundation of

a "common law" in all nations—the influence of Christianity is most apparent, as is shown in *Gesta Christi*. Another great name of this century is King Arthur of Britain. This century was one of missionary activity among the half-savage tribes of Northern Europe and of the British Isles. In 596 Augustine reintroduced Christianity in England. On the other hand, Romish errors increased in the Church. Monasteries multiplied. Pope Gregory the Great introduced the doctrine of purgatory and masses. The Church grew to twenty millions. Its internal corruptions were greater perils than Mohammed, whose birth comes in this century, though his exploits belong to the next.

SEVENTH CENTURY.—The Eastern Empire continued to prosper through this century, and the Church continued to prosecute its missionary work among the nations of Europe. The Pope continued to promulgate unscriptural doctrines, calling himself Sovereign Pontiff (Pontifex Maximus), enjoining celibacy, appointing Latin as the language of church services everywhere—so that the twenty-four millions to which the Church grew in this century were mostly "baptized heathen." Meantime a new foe to both Christian nations and the Christian Church arose in the East, the Mohammedan Empire, which in this century destroyed the Persian Empire and put its own mightier one in its place. The Mohammedan has been called "the brother of the Puritan." It would almost seem as if his creed, including total abstinence (Koran, 5 : 7) and forbidding image worship, was better than the corrupted Christianity he attacked. The Mohammedans conquered Syria and Palestine, built the Mosque of Omar in the temple area at Jerusalem, and for seven years besieged Constantinople, which was successfully defended through the aid of the newly invented "Greek fire." The University of Cambridge dates from this century. In this century, 688, laws for "regulation" of liquor selling began in Britain. In 680, Caedmon, a shepherd, rendered a few Bible stories into English rhymes.

EIGHTH CENTURY.—This is the century of Charlemagne, who brought the Germanic tribes into subjection to himself and to the Pope. During this century, Germany, France, and England come to the front as political powers and also as supporters of the Pope, whose temporal power began in this century, as did also the custom of kissing his toe in token of subjection. The English Bible had its beginning in this century in the translation of the Gospel of John into the language of the people by the Venerable Bede. Mohammedanism continued to sweep on as a destroying meteor eastward into India, westward into Africa and

Spain, and "was only prevented from spreading over Europe by the vigorous blows of Charles the Hammer in 732 on the battle-field of Tours, one of the "decisive battles of the world." It was in this century that the Northmen began to be active as voyagers and invaders. The controversy about image worship also arose in this century. It was forbidden in the Greek Church (which substituted the worship of pictures), but became more popular than before in the Roman Church. The use of "A. D.," *Anno Domini*, the year of our Lord, began in this century. The number of Christians at its close is estimated at thirty millions.

NINTH CENTURY.—The Northmen continued their aggressions. The Eastern Empire retained power and prosperity. Charlemagne's revival of the Empire of the West was short-lived. It fell to pieces during this century, soon after its founder's death. It was in this century that Alfred the Great originated jury trials and laid the foundation of British literature, British law, and British empire. The republic of Venice also dates from this period. Duns Scotus is the chief European philosopher of this century. It is called "the Augustan Age of Arabian Learning." The separation between the Eastern and Western branches of the Church in this century became complete and permanent. The superstitions of the Church were reenforced by the addition of transubstantiation. The number of Christians at the close of this century is estimated at forty millions.

TENTH CENTURY.—Here begin the "Dark Ages." This century was "dark" indeed in education, morals, and religion. Children were made bishops and even popes at the dictation and for the benefit of worldly German emperors, who controlled the Church. In the Church itself the doctrine of papal supremacy was strengthened, and also the doctrines of purgatory and transubstantiation. Both in State and Church the feudal system, which divided society into oppressors and oppressed, prevailed. But even in this feudalism there was progress as compared to the imperial despotism of earlier ages, for the power of kings was being limited in the interest of nobles, so preparing the way for the people also to invade the superstition of "divine right," and claim their human rights. (See p. 37.) The number of Christians at the close of this century is estimated at fifty millions.

ELEVENTH CENTURY.—This is the age of Anselm, Canute, Edward the Confessor, and William the Conqueror. It is now known to be the age of the first discovery of America, which was made by Norsemen.

It was in this century that the first Crusade occurred, resulting in the rescue of Jerusalem; resulting also in the awaking and broadening of European minds through foreign travel and international intercourse. The quickened mental energy gave rise to the Romanesque architecture, strong and beautiful. Curfew (cover fire), a bell requiring all fires and lights to be out at 8 P. M., originated in this century, and shows how different must have been education and evening life in that age. About 1050 the Eddas condemned drunkenness. Seventy millions of Christians at the century's close.

TWELFTH CENTURY.—This is the age of the second and third Crusades, the age of chivalry's origin, and of minstrelsy; the age of Abelard and Bernard and Becket and Gengis Khan and Saladin and Richard Cœur de Lion; the age of the spread of the Waldenses in the valley of Piedmont. Chivalry continued four centuries a refining influence upon the manners of those knights who became "champions of God and the ladies." There was no knighthood in labor nor toward labor. These knights defended only the highborn against wrong. In this century distilled liquors were introduced. Eighty millions of Christians is the estimate for the close of this century.

THIRTEENTH CENTURY.—This is the age of the last four Crusades; of Magna Charta (1215), and of the origin of the House of Commons (1258); of Scotland's struggle for independence under the lead of Wallace, Bruce, and Douglas; the age of Thomas Aquinas and Roger Bacon; the age when auricular confession became a dogma of the Roman Church, and the Inquisition its chief reliance for repressing dissent from its opinions. The period of the beautiful Gothic architecture includes this and the two following centuries. Mr. C. C. Coffin, in a Lowell Institute lecture, shows that, up to the thirteenth century, few English castles had chimneys, the fires being made in the center of the stone hearth and the smoke finding its own way to a hole in the roof. At one end of the great stone hall was the kennel for the hounds and above it the perch for the hawks. Rushes served as a carpet, and sometimes for seats. The only forks were fingers, and when forks were later introduced they were opposed as a reflection on the Almighty, as if the fingers he had made were not sufficient. It should be added that even the nobility were mostly uneducated, as only three of the twenty-six barons who signed Magna Charta could write. Each of the others made his "mark." The earliest known laws against food adulteration are the British laws of 1267. The number of Christians at the end of this century is estimated at seventy-five millions.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY.—This is the age of Wyclif, "the morning star of the Reformation." (See Moulton's *History of the English Bible.*) There are many other indications of dawn in the writings of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Chaucer, and Froissart. This is the age when the independence of Switzerland was secured by William Tell, and the independence of Scotland by the victory of Bannockburn (1314). English laws in this century forbade cock-fighting (1365), but it was encouraged later by the Stuarts, and not till the nineteenth century again outlawed. Begging was also forbidden, and the giving of alms to able-bodied beggars, but the state made no provision for the deserving poor until 1535. Harvest-men's wages were, in 1350, fixed at 1*d.* (2 cents) per day. Earlier, 1304, workmen were forbidden to organize to increase wages. The Feast of Immaculate Conception was added to Church errors. Number of Christians at close of this century, eighty millions. Chaucer's opinion of fourteenth century morals is as follows:

> "Alas, alas, nor may men wepe and crye
> For in our days 'nis but covetyse
> Doubleness, tresoun, and envye,
> Poison, manslaughter, and mordre in sundre wyse."

FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

1405. Huss attempted reformation in Bohemia. He was burned, but lived on in the "Hussites."

1413. *Imitation of Christ*, written by Thomas à Kempis, d. 1413.

1431. Joan of Arc burned as a witch. Witch-burning not epidemic till a century later.

1453. Constantinople taken by Mohammedans and made their capital.

1460. First printed Bible issued by John Gutenberg, who had invented cut metal types about 1444. Wages for British harvest-men 2d. (4 cents) per day.

1483. Luther born; the printed Bible and the future reformer being providentially provided before the New World was opened.

1489. Savonarola, the Italian reformer, applied the denunciations of Revelation to the vices of the pagan Renaissance. He was burned 1498.

1492. Columbus discovered America October 12, old style; 21, new style. For popular sketches of *How People Lived about the Time Columbus discovered America*, see *The Voice* of May, 1893.—"Columbus himself was a devout man in his way; but the standard of piety and Christian morals was low

1492. in those days. As with David and the Bible patriarchs, so with more modern men of religious reputation, large allowance must be made for the times and social customs of their day. Sir Francis Drake, with all his honors, could not, with his morals, be admitted to decent society to-day. The noble and dearly loved William of Orange, almost the father of the Puritans in Holland, was an unclean man: and even Cromwell, in the days of his prayerful reliance upon God and his deeds of valor in support of the Christian religion, is charged with mistresses many and illegitimate children. Society, even Christian society, allowed in those days what we cannot approve, but we must make charitable allowance. Both England and Spain were then but slowly and fitfully emerging from barbarism."—Rev. J. H. Taylor, D. D.

1500. SIXTEENTH CENTURY.—The Renaissance, or revival of the classic style of art, under the patronage of Italy's cultured but cruel Medici, culminated in this century. "The universal homage of three centuries and the common consent of critics have honored twelve paintings with the name of 'The World's Great Pictures.' They are: Leonardo da Vinci's 'Last Supper,' Guido Reni's 'Aurora' and 'Beatrice Cenci,' Titian's 'Assumption of the Virgin,' Murillo's 'Immaculate Conception,' Rubens' 'Descent from the Cross,' and the same subject by Volterra, Correggio's 'Holy Night,' Domenichino's 'Last Communion of St. Jerome,' Michael Angelo's 'Last Judgment,' and Raphael's 'Sistine Madonna' and 'Transfiguration.' They were all the work of Italians in that wonderful epoch known as the Renaissance." The quickening influence upon the European mind of this intellectual movement, though it sought to revive a pagan culture, prepared the way for the Reformation, which was an intellectual as well as spiritual and moral protest against corrupting superstitions.—At this time only seven metals were known against fifty-one four centuries later.

1515. The wholesale burning of witches, which continued in all parts of the civilized world for two centuries, was inaugurated this year by the burning of five hundred in Geneva. (The nineteen Salem cases, 1692, in the New World, were a mere trifle compared to the thousands burned in each of the European countries.)

1517. Luther, on October 31, by nailing his ninety-five theses against indulgences to the door of the Wittenberg church, inaugurated the great Reformation. He not only condemned superstition, but also the "hoggish life" of those who were subject to "the drink Devil." (See my *Temperance Century*, p. 16.) [Wyclif, Huss, and Savonarola having preached Reformation principles before Luther, the following dates indicate the time of their effective introduction or establishment in various countries after Luther began his work: 1519, Switzerland (Zwingli); 1521, Denmark; 1527, Prussia; 1529, France (Calvin); 1530, Sweden; 1534, England (Henry VIII.); 1535, Ireland; 1560, Scotland (Knox); 1562, Netherlands. The date of the Augsburg Confession, the German Reformation creed, is 1530.

WILLIAM TYNDALE.

The Martyred Translator of the First Printed English Bible.

"Banish me to the end of the world if you will, only let me preach the gospel and teach little children."

1526. Tyndale's New Testament, which he had been obliged by persecution to leave England to translate and publish, arrived in England. He was strangled and burned October 6, 1536, as a martyr, for translating the Scriptures into the language of the people. This is the great century of English Bibles. Coverdale's, Matthews' (Rogers'), Cramner's, the Genevan version, Parker's, were all issued between Tyndale's martyrdom and the end of the century. [King James' Version was begun 1604 and completed 1611. The Douay Version, the Roman

Catholic English version, which is generally correct except the Romish footnotes, was begun in the sixteenth century and completed about a year before the King James Version.]

1529. The term "Protestants" originated in the protest of six Lutheran princes in the Diet of Spires against the decree in support of the Church of Rome of the majority of the princes of the German Empire there gathered.

1534. Ignatius Loyola established The Company of Jesus, whose title is less correctly but more commonly translated The Society of Jesus; an oath-bound secret society to which the original papal charter allowed but sixty members, now greatly increased. The members are now called "Jesuits." The organization was condemned by the Sorbonne of Paris in 1554, and expelled from France in 1594, and has since been expelled from nearly every civilized country except the United States.

1535. First compulsory poor law in England. Poor previously supported by private charity only.

1539. Lotteries legalized in France. (Said to have originated in 1530 in Florence.) In 1569 England had a national lottery.

1543. Copernicus published his system of astronomy, which dislodged the Ptolemaic system and recognized the sun instead of the earth as the center of the universe. (Supplemented in 1546 by Tycho Brahe and later by Kepler and Newton, and since generally accepted.)

1547. A hint both of the smallness of wages and the meagerness of linen is afforded by the fact that Henry VIII. (d. 1547) paid but £10 ($50) annually for the laundry work of his entire household of 117 persons.

1551. Council of Trent decreed that every one is accursed who denies that the sacrament of penance was instituted by Christ. (Douay Bible translates the word meaning repent, "do penance.")

1553. The burning of Servetus, a Unitarian, almost the only instance of "heretic" burning by Protestants. (One of the commendable doctrines promulgated by the Socinians or Unitarians of that time was that "it is unlawful for princes to make war.")

1555. Burning of Ridley and Cranmer in England by "Bloody Mary" for dissent from Roman Catholic views. Cranmer, through fear of death, had previously recanted, and so placed first in the flames "that unworthy hand" which had signed the recantation he now bravely repudiated.

1558. Under "Good (?) Queen Bess," who restored Protestantism to England, the British slave-trade was this year established. In that lauded "Elizabethan Age," fashionable society not only enjoyed the dramas then written by Shakespeare, but also bear-baiting at a favorite "bear-garden," then considered respectable. The rich spent their time mostly in coarse pleasures, and the poor in hard toil, at 4d. (8 cents) per day for harvest-men. "You are now at the beginning of that hundred years in the first half of which, substantially, the elements of character which were to be transferred to America were brought out, born, and trained, and in the last half of which the transfer was made—the great work of colonization and the decisive formation of the American character and spirit actually occurred. It was a century every way marvelous. A century of fiercest strifes, of noblest studies, of magnificent achievements, but the grandest of all the marvels which it exhibits to our view is the recovery of the Christian Scriptures from their long burial, or rather their access to the minds of the common people, and the life, and might, and enterprise, and learning, and freedom which everywhere burst forth in their track. The century in which the American spirit was born, that spirit which has given impulse, direction, and character to the national life until this day, was a century, if we may say so, created by the Christian Scriptures."—From address by Rev. Dr. Arthur Mitchell, published in *New York Observer*, 1893.

1565. First slave labor introduced in the United States by Spaniards at St. Augustine.

1571. Battle of Lepanto, first decisive defeat of the Turks in the campaign by which Turkey in Europe was established.

1572, August 24. St. Bartholomew's massacre of Huguenots by Roman Catholics in France.

1586. Raleigh introduces tobacco into England.

1588. The Spanish Armada, a vast naval fleet thought to be "invincible," sent out by Spain to overthrow Protestantism in England and so everywhere, defeated by Drake and Howard in the English Channel. Elizabeth's Protestant reign therefore continued into the next century.

1598. Edict of Nantes, by which Henry IV. of France granted toleration to his Protestant subjects. The century closed with peace for Protestants both in France and England.

This is the century of Shakespeare, whose plays are at least

much purer than those of his predecessors, and marked by great familiarity with the Bible, next to which they rank in the world's literature.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

1601. Problems of labor and poverty are now to receive attention, but not yet solution. (Best concise historical study of this subject, Ely's *Economics*, to which we shall often have occasion to refer.) In this year England established a system of outdoor relief for the poor, which, by supplying charitable support too freely to people in their own homes, greatly increased pauperism, and even led some to give up their industrial independence for the easier life of dependence on charity.

1603. On the death of the "Virgin Queen," Elizabeth, the crown passes from the Tudors to the Stuarts, and in James I., who now becomes king of both Scotland and England by regular succession, the "United Kingdom" begins. James assumes the title "King of Great Britain." The second British attempt to "restrict" the liquor traffic by law was made in this year in a statute forbidding drinkers to linger in drinking places for a prolonged tipple. Since then about five hundred vain efforts to "restrict" this evil have been made by Parliament. It was at this period that Shakespeare wrote his condemnations of drunkenness and his scathing arraignment of wine:

> "O thou invisible Spirit of wine!
> If thou hast no name to be known by, let us call thee Devil."

1607. First English settlement in America at Jamestown, Va.

1610. Beginning of the controversy on freedom of the will between Arminians and Calvinists.

1611. King James Version of English Bible published. Now known as the "Common Version." It is certainly not the "Authorized Version" to any who do not acknowledge King James' authority over religious matters.

1618. *Book of Sports* published enjoining Sunday afternoon sports. Many preachers defied the king's order to read it in the churches, or, having read it, denounced it. These preachers and laymen of like spirit were called "Puritans," because of their efforts to purify the corrupt State church. Beginning of the Thirty Years' War between Protestant and Roman Catholic princes of Central Europe, in which Gustavus Adolphus was the most eminent Protestant leader.

1620. The "Pilgrims" landed at Plymouth, Mass. Having first landed on Clark's Island, they remained there over the Sabbath, despite the December cold, rather than undertake the labor of moving to the mainland on that sacred day. This devotion to the Sabbath is now celebrated by an inscribed stone on the island.

ROCK ON CLARK'S ISLAND.

1637. Descartes promulgated his famous philosophy.

1638. Christianity (Roman Catholic) was expelled from Japan because of the alleged political plottings of the Jesuits and other Portuguese missionaries. All Christians were prohibited by proclamation from entering the country, with the threat that, if even the king of Portugal or the God of the Christians should trespass on Japanese soil, he should pay the penalty with his head. Harvard University founded. "Solemn League and Covenant" subscribed in Scotland in reign of Charles I., in resistance to the control of the Church by the State, whence comes the name "Covenanters," whose watchword is "Christ's crown."

About the middle of this century the first sawmill in England was torn down by woodsawyers, who feared the new invention would destroy their business.

1649. Charles I. executed by order of Parliament. His chaplain, Jeremy Taylor, wrote the famous books, *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying*. Westminster Catechism issued by the Puritan divines.

1653. Cromwell made Lord Protector. Milton, his secretary, was interested in political and moral reform as well as poetry. He

advocated total abstinence for the individual in order to "live happily and healthily," and prohibition for the State, in order to "rid the land of vice."

1654. A commission was this year appointed by Cromwell to rid the State church of notoriously corrupt pastors. The instructions given to this committee indicate a scandalous condition of things. They were enjoined to dismiss all who should be found guilty of profane cursing and swearing, perjury, adultery, fornication, drunkenness, common haunting of taverns or alehouses, frequent quarrelings or fightings, etc. (D'Aubigné's *Cromwell*, ch. ix.)

1655. Cromwell demanded toleration for the Waldenses on penalty of war.

1660. The modern post-office system instituted in England. Serfdom was abolished in England, though some remains of it—the attachment of colliers to their pits—continued into the nineteenth century.

1662. The first public stage-coach in England began this year to run between Manchester and London. Actresses were introduced into theaters by Charles II. The female parts had previously been acted by men, as men's parts are now often acted by women.

1663. First real newspaper established in England, *The Public Intelligencer*.

The post-office, the public stage, and the press, it should be noted, started almost together, inaugurating that modern system of easy communication which was an essential prerequisite to the development of human brotherhood, of which the world yet knew but little.

1665. Sir Isaac Newton's publications, 1665–87 (with Kepler's, 1609–18), completed the Copernican system of astronomy. This is the year of the great London plague, which was followed a year later by the great London fire.

1666. Covenanter revolt against the compulsory episcopacy put upon Scotland in violation of his previous oath by Charles II., in which many Covenanters were killed and executed.

1667. Milton's *Paradise Lost* published. Poet received only £5 ($25).

1677. Death of the atheistic philosopher, Spinoza.

1678. Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* published, written by Christian tinker in prison for nonconformity. Dr. Increase Mather, in a treatise entitled *Pray for the Rising Generation*, says of

1678. New England at this time: "The body of the rising generation is a poor, perishing, unconverted, and (except the Lord pour down his spirit) an undone generation." "Many are profane, drunkards, lascivious, scoffers, despisers, disobedient." Which would seem to indicate that even the Puritan times in America were not such "good old times" as some despisers of the present would have us believe. (Dr. Cotton Mather, the son of the one just quoted, in a sermon on "The Good Old Way," in 1706, gives no brighter picture of his time.)

1685. Jeffreys' "Bloody Assizes," three hundred executed, one thousand transported as slaves, many whipped, fined, imprisoned, all in one month, as punishment for Duke of Monmouth's revolt against James II. (This period is pictured in *Lorna Doone.*) Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV., by which France lost to other countries her fifty thousand best families, the Huguenots, a loss which has left France weak in conscience and character ever since.

1687. Charity schools established in England to counteract the attractions of Roman Catholic academies.

1688. England brewed twelve and one-half million barrels of beer this year, says Lecky, for its five millions of population, an average of two and one-half barrels for each person.

1688. On account of the efforts of the British king, James II., to restore Romanism, William, Prince of Orange, whose queen, Mary, was the heir to the British throne, was invited by leading Protestants to invade England, which he did. So began the reign of William III. and Mary, in which the liberty of the press was established, the independence of the judiciary secured, the British constitution placed on a firm basis, and Roman Catholics forever excluded from the British throne.

1699. The Elector of Darmstadt, in anticipation of a total eclipse of the sun, which scholars had announced, issued a proclamation warning the people to prepare for the "dangerous eclipse" by carefully housing all cattle, the barn doors and windows being fully covered, those of houses still more so, "so that the bad atmosphere may not find lodgment, because such eclipses frequently occasion whooping-cough, epilepsy, paralysis, fever, and other diseases." Although lotteries were still much used by State and Church, some advanced reformers at this time had begun to denounce them as "cheats" and their promoters as "pillagers."

1700. Van Lennep's and Schauffler's *Growth of Christianity* esti-

1700. mates the number of Christians at the close of this century at 155,000,000. *The Sunday School Times*, in an article showing the futility of searching for "good old times" that were better than these, quotes a pious Scotch book of this closing year of the seventeenth century, in which the author declares that personal religious characteristics are "scarcely discernible any more."

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. (For the moral characteristics of the first half of this century, see 1750.)

1704. First American newspaper of continuous publication established—*The Boston News Letter*.

1707. Isaac Watts' hymns published.

1716. Wages of harvest-men in England 9d. (18 cents) per day. [Increased 1740 to 10d. (20 cents); 1760, 1s. (25 cents); 1788, 1s. 4d. (33 cents); 1794, 1s. 6d. (37 cents); 1800, 2s. (50 cents).]

1724. Jesuits expelled from China.

1729. The following items from the expense account of a New England ordination of this year is representative of this period as to the friendship of religion and rum:

6½ bbls. cider,	£4 11s.
2 gals. brandy, 3 gals. Rhum,	£1 16s.
25 gals. wine,	£9 10s.
Loaf sugar, lime juice, and pipes,	£1 15s.

Methodism, which was formally organized in 1774 in England, in 1784 in the United States, had its real beginning in the "Holy Club" organized by the Wesleys, Whitefield, and other students during this year at Oxford University in England.

1739. Whitefield landed at Philadelphia and traveled widely in the Colonies as the first Evangelist of modern times, inaugurating great revivals which have had a radical influence upon American church life ever since.

1736. An attempt in this year to enforce the obsolete law against witches caused its repeal, but the belief in witchcraft had not then (nor had it in 1894) wholly died out even in the British Isles and the United States.

1737. An Indian council of one hundred in Alleghany, Pa., in this year passed a strong prohibitory law against rum.

1739. "The field preaching of Wesley and Whitefield in 1739," says Isaac Taylor, "was an event from whence the religious epoch now current must date its commencement." Rev. Dr. Jonathan Edwards preached sermons this year that were published, 1794, as *The History of Redemption.*

1742. First production of Händel's *Messiah*, in Dublin, seven thousand present. The proceeds, two thousand dollars, given to three charitable organizations, the Society for Relieving Prisoners, the Charitable Infirmary, and Mercer's Hospital.

1750. At the middle of this century Voltaire and Rousseau were poisoning France with infidelity, while the king was embittering the people with cruelty. The harvest of this double sowing was to be a "Reign of Terror" at the century's close. Philip Doddridge, who died this year, author of the famous book, *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul.*

From Lecky we get most of the facts following as to moral conditions in England during the first half or more of this century. One of the leading British trade interests was the African slave-trade. Public lotteries were generally approved, and extravagant personal gambling was common among the so-called "upper classes." Sensuality on the stage was appalling and not uncommon or much condemned in any grade of society. Literature abounded with proverbs implying general impurity. Punishments were most brutal. Prisons were filled with corruption and cruelty. Young men of rank, in their idleness, committed outrages of wanton cruelty on the streets with impunity. Even at noon, in London, people went armed for self-defense. Rogues encountered little restraint from the conniving or drunken constables. The drink fiend at that time acquired that mastery over Britons which has since continued with little abatement. In 1688, the people had averaged 2½ barrels each per year, but in 1724 a law that favored native gin rather than foreign wine in the interest of revenue developed a terrible passion for gin drinking. Gin sellers advertised to make patrons drunk for a penny, "dead drunk" for twice that, with promise of straw on which to sleep off the effects. In 1736 Parliament tried in vain to "restrict" this evil which its own laws had fostered. The gin flood rose steadily. With all this, as the historian Green tells us, there was combined a general infidelity and hostility to religion. Says Lecky: "The doctrines of depravity, the vicarious atonement, the necessity of salvation, the new birth,

1750. faith, the action of the Divine Spirit in the believer s soul, during the greater part of the eighteenth century were seldom heard from in the Church of England pulpits. Lady Wortley Montagu said that she expected to see it proposed in Parliament to strike the "not" out of the Commandments and insert it in the Creed. The greater part of the statesmen were both infidel and immoral. Drunkenness and foul talk brought no disgrace to Premier Walpole. Premier Grafton would appear with his mistress at a play. Chesterfield, in his letters, instructs his son in seduction as a part of polite education. Puritanism was dead and Methodism not yet born.

1759. Canada finally taken from the French and its Protestant destiny determined.

1760. At this period (see Ely's *Economics*, ch. v), although England was not rich, there was almost no pauperism, and the land was filled with cottage manufacturers who spun, wove, and dyed cloth, and then sold it. See pp. 76, 164. John Wesley severely condemned liquor-selling and made abstinence from "spirituous liquors" one of the Methodist rules. See p. 44.

1768. Remaurus, who died this year, is considered the founder of the so-called Rationalism which makes one's personal reason the test of truth. The better known advocates of this view are Paulus, Eichhorn, Renan, and Strauss.

1769. In this year Watt invented the steam-engine, by which, with the other machines soon to be invented,—the spinning-frame, 1769; spinning-mule, 1775; power loom, 1787; cotton-gin, 1793,—industry was to be revolutionized through the gathering of industrial armies in factories where the individual could no longer buy his own material and sell his own product, but must come into the wage system instead. (See p. 164, and Ely's *Economics*, ch. iv.) (Adam Smith's mental invention in 1776 was to be quite as influential as any of these mechanical inventions in the industrial revolution.)

1770. Sermon preached in Boston against Franklin's newly invented lightning-rods as "impious contrivances to prevent the execution of the just wrath of Heaven." An earthquake shock in the previous year had been attributed to them.

1772. It was decided judicially that slavery could not exist in England, though still tolerated in her colonies.

1773. John Howard began his prison reform work.

1774. The earliest legislative action in America against liquors was a resolution of the first Continental Congress, during this

year, urging all the Colonial legislatures to "quickly" prohibit "distilling grain."

1775. First American Abolition Society formed in Philadelphia, with Benjamin Franklin as president. Pestalozzi began his educational work.

1776. Declaration of Independence, July 4. Hardly less revolutionary than the foregoing political action was Adam Smith's effective declaration of industrial independence during this same year, in his *Wealth of Nations*, in which political economy originated. Free trade between nations was one of its doctrines, but a more radical one was that domestic trade should be almost, if not quite, free from governmental regulation, on the ground that competition would prevent injustice both in prices and wages. See pp. 164–173. (During this last quarter of the century the evil of child-labor in factories, one of the outcomes of the new machinery, was noted and lamented.) In this year John Wilkes offered in Parliament in vain a suffrage reform bill similar to that which won half a century later. At this time two-thirds of the so-called House of Commons was appointed by lords and other influential persons, 300 members having behind them but 160 electors. Laws were notoriously in the interest of the privileged classes, who controlled both Houses. Trial by torture was abolished this year by Portugal, and in later years of the century by other civilized countries.

1777. It was in this period of the Revolution, often cited by admirers of "the good old times" as one of purer patriotism than ours, that John Adams wrote: "I am wearied to death with the wrangles between military officers, high and low. They quarrel like cats and dogs. They worry each other like mastiffs, scrambling for rank and pay like apes for nuts."

1780. Robert Raikes' "Sunday-schools," established this year, are regarded as beginning the modern Sabbath-school system, although those first schools gathered only the neglected children of the poor, and were devoted mainly to education, only secondarily to morals and religion. It is claimed that the weary world got its first rocking-chair in this year, invented by a farm-hand in Kingston, Mass., for a sick lady. In this year began the movement for the removal in Great Britain of the political disabilities of Catholics, which was not consummated until 1829.

1783. Separation of the United States from Great Britain. The historian Mackenzie notes that at this time Great Britain

1783. bestowed poor relief with an over-generous hand through alarm at growing discontent. The result was an increase of pauperism, which was put at a premium as compared with honest labor. The paupers, receiving this pension in money at their homes, became the mainstay of the beer-shops, and often refused work when offered. *The Sunday School Times* notes, for the benefit of those who sigh for "the good old times," that here, at the very birth of our nation, Rev. Samuel Torrey, in a sermon to the Massachusetts legislature, exclaimed: "How is religion dying in families through the neglect of the religious education of children and youth!"

1784. Abolition of bull-fights in Spain "except for pious and patriotic purposes." The first load of cotton carried from the United States to England.

1785. The modern temperance movement is commonly considered as beginning in a series of papers published this year by Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia, on *The Effect of Ardent Spirits upon the Human Mind and Body*. (See my *Temperance Century*.)

1787. The great "Northwest Territory," comprising what afterward became Ohio and several contiguous States, was this year established, with prohibition of slavery and provision for education in Christian morality.

1789. First known association pledged to voluntary abstinence from "strong drink" (not including fermented liquors) formed by farmers of Litchfield, Conn. Not till 1826 is any other society known to have sought anything but "moderation."

In the Methodist conference at Baltimore during this year there were no stoves and no backs to seats, except several of the latter provided by special vote for the feeble Bishop Coke and several of the aged preachers. At this period it was the custom in other denominations to go from the fireless churches to taverns on Sabbath noon to warm up by external and internal heat. On July 14 the French Bastile fell and the French Revolution began. Its first successes awakened movements for popular liberty all over Europe which its later excesses paralyzed for a quarter of a century. Pitcairn's Island settled by mutineers of *The Bounty*, whose vicious settlement was at length Christianized by a Bible that one of the mutineers had brought, and became almost arcadian in its freedom from crime. The islanders are now Seventh-day Adventists.

1790. The first U. S. Census shows a population of 3,929,827,

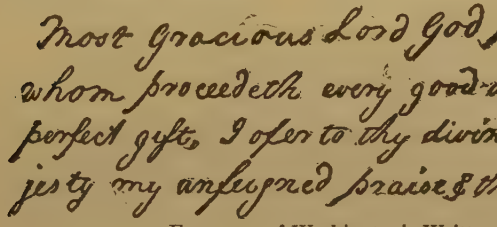
1790. only three per cent. of them living in cities. The largest city, New York, 33,131. Philadelphia was second, Boston third, Baltimore fourth, New Orleans fifth. Monasteries suppressed in France.

1791. First thresher patented in the United States.

1792. Revival (see Kirk's *Lectures on Revivals*) in Great Britain.

1793. Beginning of modern foreign missionary movement in the sailing of William Carey's missionary ship from England to India. When he first proposed foreign missions, his father said, "William, are you mad?" Three years before he sailed, on proposing missions in a Baptist conference, he was commanded to be silent and not to meddle with Providence. In this year France assassinated the Sabbath and appointed each tenth day as a holiday, with Reason appointed by law as a goddess to be worshiped. Whitney's cotton-gin, invented this year, put a new value on cotton and so on slaves.

1794. "The Reign of Terror" at last ended, after a million Frenchmen had been killed by Frenchmen. Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason* published.


Most Gracious Lord God from
whom proceedeth every good and
perfect gift, I offer to thy divine ma-
jesty my unfeigned praises & thanks

—From one of Washington's Written Prayers.

1795. The London Missionary Society, one of the few missionary organizations that represent united Christianity, was formed this year by "Churchmen" and "Dissenters," who grasped hands, in tears of joy, to uplift the world.

1796. Washington's Farewell Address, September 17. William Wilberforce in this year founded a "Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor," not by alms-giving chiefly, but by information and sympathy—very nearly the position that charity reform now occupies. Vaccination discovered by Edward Jenner.

1797. Wilberforce's *Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System* published. Napoleon conquered the Pope because of his hostility to the French Republic.

1798. A motion of William Wilberforce for the abolition of the British "slave-trade," which had been discussed since 1787, was this year lost by vote of 88 to 83 in the British Parliament. (The "slave-trade," that is, the trade at sea, had been abolished in Austria in 1782, in France in 1794. It was not abolished by the British Parliament until 1807.)

1799. Napoleon became "First Consul." Laplace's *Méchanique Céleste* published.

1800. U. S. Census, 5,305,941. The British Parliament passed a stringent law against all unions of workmen to increase wages, reduce hours, etc. (See Ely's *Economics*, p. 48.) Dorchester's *Problem of Religious Progress* estimates the number of Christians in the world at the close of this eighteenth century at two hundred millions.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

POLITICS.—The century opened with all parts of Europe more or less involved in a quarter century of wars (of which fifteen years yet remained). These wars originated in a revolutionary effort of the French people to rid themselves of oppression, and were furthered by the fears of crowned heads that this republicanism would spread, and still more promoted by the ambition of Napoleon. The cruelties the French people had learned from wicked kings they had practised on a nobler sovereign, Louis XVI., and upon each other, and so had already assassinated their own liberties and postponed liberty in other nations. At the opening of this century Napoleon had blotted out the republics of Venice, Holland, and Switzerland. The United States had the only popular government, with John Adams president. The chief rulers at this period were: George III. of Great Britain; Napoleon of France; Charles IV. of Spain; Francis II. of all Germany (which included three hundred federated governments); Alexander I. of Russia; and Pope Pius VII. of the Papal States. In 1807 Napoleon had conquered to his sway all Europe except Great Britain. Publishers of geographies in 1796–1815 had a hard time to keep up with Napoleon in map revision.

RELIGION.—Christlieb's *Protestant Missions* shows that at this time the new foreign missionary movement (started by William Carey, 1793) had only 7 societies, 170 male missionaries (100 of them Moravians) and 50,000 heathen converts. The annual missionary contribution of all Protestants was only fifty thousand pounds or a quarter of a million dollars. The Bible had been published in only 50 languages, with a total circulation of not more than 5,000,000. Skepticism was so common, especially among educated men, that it was confidently prophesied that Christianity could not survive more than two generations. Dr. Archibald Alexander, visiting Boston in the opening year of this century, found in the nine Congregational churches only one Orthodox preacher, the rest being Unitarians. There was little human brotherhood at this time, but, instead, very strong hatreds of one race for another, of one party for another, of one sect for another. Friends resorted to duels to settle trifling misunderstandings.

MORALS.—In one of the opening years of this century, Rev. Dr. Eliphalet Nott (afterward president of Union College) was presented by the young men of his church with a cask of wine,

which was then considered as appropriate in such cases as a cane in later years. Ministers were expected to drink not only at weddings and funerals, but also in every pastoral call, and were not always able to carry successfully the mixed drinks of a dozen calls. Searchers for "the good old times" will turn with disappointment from this period in which Wordsworth wrote, "Plain living and high thinking are no more," and in which Daniel Webster, in his first Fourth of July oration (1802), said: "Patriotism hath in these days become a good deal questionable."

1801. Union of Great Britain and Ireland. One of the inventions that came in with the century was machine-made pins. Previously pins had been rarely used, because hand-made and costly. "Pin money" was therefore a term of luxury.

1802. A bill to abolish bull-fights defeated in the British Parliament. Beginning of the "Factory Acts" for the protection of employees. (They had not been brought up to the full measure of justice even in 1894, when the House of Lords rejected the "Employers' Liability Bill.")

Bull-fights Allowed.

"Factory Acts."

1803. In records of a European tour of this year, published in *The Atlantic Monthly* and *Scribner's Magazine* in 1892, a specimen British election, characterized by gross disorder, is described in which the expenses of a Parliamentary candidate were computed at not less than £80,000, or $400,000.

Corrupt Elections.

1804. Establishment of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Napoleon, who had twice fought the preceding Pope successfully, was reconciled to the new Pope in order to be crowned emperor by him, but soon after refused to restore this Pope the temporal possessions he had taken, and a third time invaded Rome and brought the Pope to France, where he was kept a prisoner five years, being driven to needlework to occupy his time.

The Pope a Prisoner.

1805. The Sabbath restored to France by Napoleon after twelve years' loss of it had caused the nation serious physical and moral injury.

Sabbath Restored.

1806. The same writer quoted for 1803 gives the following picture of a specimen of a British election of this year: "The hustings were erected in Covent Garden, and for fifteen days the most riotous and scandalous behavior prevailed. Each candidate had his particular mob decorated with ribbons and flags. In one mob was a band of butchers, with marrowbones and cleavers. The mobs escorted their voters to the hustings,

Corrupt Elections.

cleaving a way through the immense rabble that formed a solid phalanx around it. The candidates were each day on the hustings haranguing this motley crew who were, many of them, hooting and abusing them the whole time, and the candidates themselves descended to make direct attacks upon each other, and became absolutely scurrilous before the close of the election. The voters, in many instances, make the best bargain they can, and sell their votes to the best advantage."

1807. British Parliament, having previously sanctioned "slave-trade" by twenty-six acts of Parliament, this year abolished the trade at sea, but not yet in the colonies. In previous years of the century forty thousand slaves per year had been carried by British ships, half of whom were killed by the cruelties of the voyage. First steamboat trip in the United States, August 7, by Fulton's *Clermont*.

1808. Temperance. Slave-trade. Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher preached his famous temperance sermons. "Slave-trade" (at sea) outlawed in the United States, but not yet domestic slavery.

1810. Sanitation. United States population, 7,239,814. Up to this time, in London, deaths exceeded births for lack of public sanitation. France having undertaken this, Great Britain began to agitate for it. "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," the first American foreign missionary society, organized by the Massachusetts Congregational Association on petition of Adoniram Judson, Samuel Nott, Jr., Samuel J. Mills, and Samuel Newell, Andover Seminary students who wished to be sent to foreign fields if their desire should not be deemed "visionary or impracticable." Sunday mails were this year first authorized by Congress.

Missions.

1811. Wages. In a British trial for libel the judge denied the accused the right to criticize acts of Parliament (Mackenzie, p. 104). Wages of British harvest-men at this date 2*s*. 1½*d*. or 53 cents. (Increased, 1850, 3*s*. or 75 cents; 1857, 5*s*. or $1.25). Rev. Dr. Asahel Nettleton's revival work begun.

1812. Constitutional Government. War for trifling cause declared by United States against Great Britain—such a cause as would now lead only to arbitration. Spain, Portugal, Piedmont, and Naples compelled, by popular uprisings and Napoleonic influences, to grant constitutional government, which, however, was in no case permanently retained.

1814. *Annals of the Poor*, by Rev. Leigh Richmond, published. A congress of the "Allies," or Great Powers, which had con-

Vienna Congress of Powers. quered Napoleon and banished him to Elba, met at Vienna and reestablished the Pope's temporal power, and restored the other four hundred governments of Europe, except the republics, to substantially the same status they had occupied before Napoleon "shuffled" them. This congress also condemned and so virtually ended for civilized nations the "slave-trade" (at sea). The congress was interrupted by Waterloo, June 18, 1815, and then resumed. Gas-lights introduced in London

Gas. streets in spite of the protests of those who said the new light would ruin whaling. Street robbers fled from the new light.

Locomotives. George Stephenson's first locomotive ran upon a "tramway" (invented by Outram), and drew eight "carriages" of thirty tons' weight four miles per hour.

1815. Waterloo, June 18. (Read Victor Hugo's description of this victory of Providence in *Les Misérables*.) After the Napoleonic

Corn Laws. wars, British landowners enacted the "corn law," a protective tariff on wheat, in order to enable farmers to pay them high rents, despite the added tax on a necessity of life, to be paid chiefly by the poor. This, added to war taxes, caused great suffering and a demand for suffrage as a remedy of the people's wrongs. There were 223 capital offenses in Great Britain at this time, including theft of 5*s*. ($1.25). Judge Heath expressed the general opinion that there is no hope of reforming a felon, and that his death is therefore the best thing for him-

Prison Reform. self and for society. Prison reform and prisoners' relief were first organized at this time by Sir Thomas Buxton, M. P., and slight mitigations of penal code were secured in the following

Jury Trial. year. Jury trial was introduced in Scotland. The Massa-

Peace. chusetts Peace Society, the first organization of its kind, was founded December 26 by twenty-two persons.

1816. American Bible Society instituted. (The Pope issued a "bull" against Bible societies the following year.)

1817. Congregational Sabbath-schools were started this year in

Sabbath-schools Feared. Boston, but not without objections: viz., that it might be a desecration of the Sabbath; that children ought to be instructed at home by their parents; and that professing Christians ought to be at home, engaged in reading, meditation, and prayer, instead of going abroad to teach the children of other families on the Sabbath.

1818. Mackenzie (p. 95) states that at this time one-half the children of England were growing up without education, and

Illiteracy. only one-seventeenth of the population were at school. Cal-

houn as United States Secretary of War prohibited intoxicating liquors in the army.

1820. U. S. Census, 9,638,191. Liberia (equal in area to New York, New Jersey, and New England) colonized as a "Black Republic" by act of Congress. On March 20, the Sandwich Hawaii. Island mission was begun. The people had just given up idols and were wanting a new religion. It was the case of "a nation born in a day."

1821. The passage of the "Missouri Compromise" by the United States Congress, by which Missouri was admitted as a slave Mo. Compromise. State with the proviso that slavery should be prohibited in all new States north of 36° 30′, quieted the slavery agitation for a decade.

1823. The flogging of female slaves in British colonies being forbidden by Parliament, planters threatened revolt. Rev. Charles G. Finney's revival labors begun.

1824. The British law of 1800 against labor unions repealed, having become inoperative, but labor unions still suffered Labor Unions Allowed. much from the courts, which treated strikes as "conspiracies in restraint of trade." Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Cruelty to Animals organized in England, the first society of its kind.

1825. See p. 40 and Mackenzie, p. 94, for a picture of the low state of British morals in the first quarter of the century. Bolivar. Republics of Peru and Bolivia established by Bolivar (who had liberated Colombia in 1819).

1826. Lotteries suppressed in Great Britain by "Treasury Minute." (But ten years later Parliament found it necessary Lotteries. to punish newspapers with penalty of fifty pounds for advertising them.) Anti-Masonry. Anti-Masonry movement started in Batavia, N. Y.

1827. The Greek war of independence closed successfully on October 20 with the naval battle of Navarino, in which several Greek Independence. nations aided Greece against the Turks. This success promoted movements for liberty all over Europe. Dick's *Philosophy of a Future State* appeared.

1828. The religious test for members of Parliament, which (since reign of Charles II.) had excluded Catholics, and incidentally Religious Tests. "dissenters," by admitting only communicants of the Church of England, was modified so as to admit all "Christians," but not Jews. (The next year Catholic disabilities were removed for Ireland.)

1829. Petitions from twenty-one States against Sunday mails presented to Congress. On the basis of a sectarian report Congress refused to act on the ground that to stop Sunday mails would be "religious legislation," as if continuing them was not anti-religious. Virtual independence of Servia secured. Daniel O'Connell founded a society to separate Ireland from Great Britain. The "spoils system" in the United States begun by President Andrew Jackson, whose Secretary of State, Marcy, named and defended the system by his famous saying, "To the victors belong the spoils."

Sunday Mails.

Spoils System.

1830. U. S. Census, 12,866,020. Mackenzie calls this the year of "the complete political awakening of Europe," a year of agitation and insurrection in behalf of popular government, not yet permanently established anywhere except in the United States. *The Atlantic Monthly* (about 1880) gave a detailed description of the homes of 1830 in New England, which were mostly unpainted, unplastered, unadorned, uncarpeted, imperfectly warmed by yawning fireplaces, whose flames were kindled by flint and steel, lucifer matches having been invented the year before, but as yet rarely used. Food was awkwardly cooked, with only half a dozen kitchen utensils, and then eaten with pewter table ware, sitting in wooden chairs around a pine table. Candles and whale oil furnished imperfect light for a scanty supply of literature, and sleep was upon straw beds without springs, in unwarmed rooms. Clocks and watches being expensive luxuries, men guessed the hours, and were also for the most part without musical instruments and pictures. Fox's famous *Book of Martyrs* published.

Home Life.

1831. First extended railroad in the United States. The rails were of wood, tired like wheels; the engine four tons, drawing fifteen persons including brakemen, with hand-brakes. Stationary engines drew the train by ropes over the hills. January 1 appeared William Lloyd Garrison's paper, *The Liberator*. The word "teetotaler," said to have originated about this time in the stuttering effort of an illiterate reformed man to tell how *totally* he abstained.

1832. Gladstone was elected to Parliament for first time. The evils of child-labor in factories began to be discussed. Children of six were sometimes put to work. The hours were from thirteen to fifteen, and children had no favors by law or custom. They often fell asleep from exhaustion, and then were injured by the machinery without redress, or were

British "Reform Bill."

beaten by their overseers. The desperate need of popular suffrage to right such wrongs carried the agitation for a reformed franchise to success during this year in the passage of the Reform Bill. See p. 40. Czar of Russia abolished 187 convents. (In years following his example was followed on a larger scale in Prussia, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Mexico, South America, etc.

Convents Abolished.

1833. Motions to abolish flogging in the army and impressment in the navy failed in Parliament by small majorities. Emancipation of all slaves in British colonies (770,280) at a cost of £16,000,000 ($80,000,000) was decreed by Parliament for accomplishment in two years. By the "Factory Acts" the labor of children under nine in British factories was forbidden, and of those under thirteen limited to an average of eight hours per day, and of those under eighteen to sixty-nine hours per week, or 11½ hours per day on the average. A national school system was established, with only £16,000 ($80,000) appropriation, but the school attendance increased to one-eleventh of the population. Denominational difficulties had delayed and hindered the work. The National Anti-Slavery Society of the United States was this year formed in New York City by Arthur Tappan and others. In this and the two following years were published the famous *Bridgewater Treatises*, devoted to showing the wisdom, power, and love of God in creation.

British Emancipation.

Child-labor.

Schools.

Anti-slavery

1834. Opium trade forbidden by China, with consequent "Opium Wars," in which Great Britain forced opium trade back upon China. British poor laws improved. Strikes began at this time to be considerably used by workmen, and for nearly half a century probably helped somewhat to hold up wages and reduce hours of labor.

Opium Wars.

Poor Laws.

Strikes.

1836. Churches and temperance societies in the United States, after half a century of faithful experimenting with "moderation," and abstinence from distilled liquors only, reached a practically unanimous conclusion at a national convention of this year that total abstinence from all alcoholic beverages, including malt and fermented liquors, is the only safe basis for the temperance reform. Removal of the tax (4d. or 8 cents) on British newspapers, imposed partly to keep them out of the hands of the people to prevent political agitation. Compulsory tithes for support of state church abolished by Parliament, and dissenting ministers allowed to marry their

Total Abstinence.

Tithes.

own people. (Equal rights as to burial not granted till 1880.)

Lotteries. Lotteries suppressed a second time, but not finally, in France.

1837. Queen Victoria began her reign and by the purity of her family life checked the immoralities which previous corrupt courts had encouraged. Capital crimes in Great Britain reduced to seven. Froebel inaugurated the "kindergarten."

Hanging Restricted.

Kindergarten.

1838. Anti-Corn Law League formed by Cobden, Bright, and others. United States House of Representatives voted, 128 to 78, that all petitions on the slavery question should be "laid on the table" without being debated, printed, or referred. This vote was called, from its author, "Atherton's gag," and was resisted by John Quincy Adams and others.

Anti-Corn Law League.

Slavery Petitions.

1839. At the suggestion of Rowland Hill, penny postage was introduced in Great Britain and copied elsewhere. (Letters had previously averaged four per capita per year. Increased to thirty-three in 1875.) New treatment of the insane introduced, kindness taking the place of chains. Egypt became virtually independent of Turkey. Daguerreotypes invented. Beginning of reform schools at Methay, France. Beginning of Father Matthew's temperance revival in Ireland, in which a million people, it is claimed, took the pledge.

Penny Post.

Humanity to Insanity.

Reform Schools.

Father Matthew.

1840. U. S. Census, 17,069,453. Of every 100, only 8 yet lived in cities. Abolitionists in the United States formed a national party. National revival throughout United States, due in part to financial panic and losses of 1837. Bishop Hughes (afterward archbishop) began this year the school conflict between Roman Catholics and Protestants by seeking to obtain sectarian appropriations for his parochial schools from the New York Legislature. One Protestant institution at least, says Rev. Dr. H. K. Carroll, had previously received State aid, and other Protestants had asked such aid. But discussion at last led nearly all Protestants to see the impropriety of all sectarian appropriations, while Roman Catholics continue to claim such aid in their case as their right, although not to be prematurely urged. 1840–50 Hon. Carroll D. Wright gives as the period of the introduction of building and loan associations, although one existed earlier. Professor R. T. Ely says that the labor movement began to assume prominence about this time.

Revival.

School Question.

Labor.

1841. Christlieb gives this year as the beginning of medical missions, originated in an Edinburgh society. Puseyism

Medical Missions.

Puseyism. (Romish tendencies in the Church of England) censured by Oxford University. Boston's *Fourfold State* published.

1842. British cannon opened China to opium and missionaries.

1843. "Factory Acts" improved by Parliament. Boys under eighteen and all women and girls limited to eleven hours per day for three years; thereafter to ten. Labor of women in mines forbidden, and that of boys restricted. (Read Mrs. Browning's *Cry of the Children.*) The Free Church of Scotland established by four hundred Scotch Presbyterian pastors, who gave up their salaries and appointments in the State Church when their General Assembly's protest against the political appointment of preachers had been made in vain.

"Factory Acts."

Free Church.

1844, May 24, Morse sent first telegram: "What hath God wrought?" The first Young Men's Christian Association established by George Williams in London. The first and largest of national Sabbath conventions, 1700 delegates, convened in the First Baptist Church of Baltimore, John Quincy Adams presiding. Sunday mails and Sunday liquor-selling were the chief points of attack. New York Legislature forbade the Board of Education of New York City to exclude the Bible from the schools. Cooperative stores begun at Rochdale, England. Dueling was given its quietus by a War-Office minute from the Duke of Wellington, requested by the Prince Consort, which declared that it was not ungentlemanly for a military officer to receive or make apologies for wrongs committed. Beginning of organized prison reform work in the United States.

Tele-graph.

Y. M. C. A.

Sabbath Conven-tion.

Coopera-tive Stores.

Dueling.

1845. Texas admitted, after a severe conflict, as a slave State.

1846. A sailor in the British navy having died as the result of flogging, the number of lashes, previously unlimited and often 400, was limited to 50. Repeal of "the corn law," under premiership of Sir Robert Peel. Pope Pius IX. elected. Ether first used as an anæsthetic by Dr. W. T. G. Morton of Baltimore at Boston. Sewing-machine and McCormick reaper invented. Mexican War authorized by Congress with "Wilmot proviso," that if territory be thereby acquired, slavery shall be excluded from it. World's Evangelical Alliance organized in London, August 19, through efforts of Rev. William Patton, D. D.

Flogging Abol-ished.

Ether.

Sewing-machines.

Reapers.

Evangel-ical Alli-ance.

1847. The U. S. Supreme Court affirmed the full power of a State to regulate, restrain, or prohibit liquor-selling, 5 How. 504.

Prohibi-tion.

10-Hour Bill. (Another like decision 1887. See, for both, Appendix of Wheeler's *Prohibition.*) British ten-hour law passed.

1848. Third French Revolution and unsuccessful uprisings against tyranny in Italy and Hungary. Inauguration of woman's rights movement at Seneca Falls, N. Y., by Mrs. Stanton, Lucretia Mott, and others.

Woman Suffrage.

1849. Austrian emperor, at close of a dangerous revolt in his empire, proclaimed complete religious freedom and popular suffrage, but took both back in three years.

1850. Prohibition. 1850–55 is the great half-decade of prohibition. It had been first advised officially in 1837 by General James Appleton in a committee report to the Maine Legislature, which in 1846 had passed a crude law. But the real "Maine Law" was enacted in 1851. (Michigan Legislature had forbidden license, but not ordered prohibition, in 1850 in its constitution. In 1851 Ohio also forbade license in the constitution.) In 1851 Illinois passed nominal prohibitory law, valuable only as affirming the principle and showing growth of sentiment. In 1852 Vermont adopted what is substantially the present law. In 1854 Connecticut and Ohio passed prohibitory laws, the latter very imperfect. In 1855 Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, Indiana, Iowa, joined the prohibitory column, the laws being mostly crude. In New York State the prohibition forces were led by the foremost men of the nation, including Horace Greeley, Henry J. Raymond, Henry Ward Beecher, and Dr. E. H. Chapin. The churches and temperance societies were at this time substantially a unit in favor of prohibition. Many of the laws named above were not enforced and so were repealed; both facts being due to the slavery struggle, including the war, which turned moral energies in another direction.

1851. "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe began publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as a serial story in *The National Era.* Through improved education laws one-eighth of the population of England were this year at school.

Education.

1853. School Question. Roman Catholic authorities in seven States demanded sectarian appropriations for parochial schools. The so-called "Know-Nothings" accordingly organized their opposition to the domination of foreign Catholics. The Waldenses at last allowed to have a church in Turin, the seat of the royal house which had persecuted them for centuries.

1854. Beginning of the Crimean war, due, in part, to a quarrel between the Greek and Roman Catholic churches as to which should mend the leaking roof of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. Immaculate Conception of Virgin Mary proclaimed by Pope Pius IX. Repeal of the "Missouri Compromise," after earnest debate, and admission of Kansas and Nebraska with permission for slavery if the State voters should so decide, resulting in guerilla warfare in Kansas.

Crimean War.

Slavery Conflict.

1855. Close of Crimean war. Turkey compelled to grant religious equality to Mohammedans and Christians, but Turkey has since interpreted her words as not including permission for Christians to convert Moslems.

Toleration in Turkey.

1856. The British in India removed all obstacles to the remarriage of native widows, having previously abolished widow-burning on husbands' funeral pyres, also human sacrifices and infanticide.

Reforms in India.

1857. A great national revival in the United States, following financial panic, as in 1840. "Dred Scott Decision" of the United States Supreme Court, that negroes had no rights before the law, caused great excitement and increased anti-slavery agitation. Sepoy Rebellion originated in use of animal fat for Sepoy cartridges, offending superstitious regard for sacred cows and prejudice against "unclean" swine.

Revival.

Dred Scott Decision.

Sepoy Rebellion.

1858. Jews admitted to Parliament. Partial Emancipation of Russian serfs.

1859. Japan quietly entered by Protestant missionaries. (No public preaching or teaching allowed until 1872.) Execution of the Abolitionist, John Brown. Darwin published *Descent of Man*.

Japan.

Darwinism.

1860. British and French societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals united in opposing vivisection, that is, experiments on living animals. Emperor of Austria proclaimed religious toleration and entered suddenly into constitutional government. (Suspended again 1865–67.) The secession of South Carolina, December 20, really began the war for the Union, as it started out to be, the war of emancipation as it providentially became. Petroleum discovered and evening studies promoted by improved and cheapened lights. World's Protestant Missionary Conference meets for the first time.

Vivisection.

Toleration in Austria.

Secession.

Petroleum.

Missions.

1861. Emperor Alexander II. of Russia proclaimed gradual emancipation of all Russian serfs, estimated by some at

Russian Emancipation. twenty-three millions, which was accomplished in two years. First American Woman's Missionary Society, a union organization, founded by Mrs. Doremus in New York. (One in Great Britain in 1834.)

1862. Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation to take effect January 1, 1863. (In 1860 census showed 4,002,996 slaves.) Russian Emperor celebrated completion of 1000 years of Russian history by reforming courts, abolishing flogging in the army, promoting railroads, and establishing local elective assemblies for purely local non-political administration. Bismarck became Prussian Chancellor.

Emancipation in the United States.

Bismarck.

1863. Unsuccessful attempt of Poland to secure independence.

1864. *Syllabus of Errors* issued by Pope Pius IX., in which the American plan of public schools, not by name but by description, is condemned; also civil and religious liberty of person and press and nineteenth-century progress generally. Invention of the German needle-gun. January 27, National Reform Association organized. Miss Octavia Hill inaugurated tenement-house reform in London.

Popery.

National Reform.

1865. "Salvation Army" organized by General and Mrs. Booth. Extensive revival in the United States. Close of the Civil War in the United States, and adoption of constitutional amendments against slavery. Assassination of Abraham Lincoln. Henry Bergh's Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals established. Also National Temperance Society. Sunday papers, made popular by the war, mostly continued; also Sunday trains, another war measure.

Salvation Army.

Cruelty to Animals.

1866. Flogging in British army and navy in time of peace prohibited. Civil service reform inaugurated in Congress.

Flogging Abolished.

Civil Service Reform.

[See discussion of the progress of social reform in the nineteenth century by thirds, pp. 39–43.]

1867. Suffrage in Great Britain extended to all householders in cities, and property qualifications of those residing elsewhere reduced. (The Reform Bill of 1832 had taken in only persons of some property, not going below the "middle classes.") This measure took in the working classes in cities. (Extended to householders everywhere in 1884.) Beginning of the persecution of Stundists in Russia. (Increase nevertheless in ten years to 400,000.) By the Alaska purchase the territory of the United States became 3,588,576 square miles. Carl

Household Suffrage.

Stundists.

Alaska.

Marx published *Capital*, "the Bible of the working classes" of Germany.

1868. Charity organization movement inaugurated in London.

Lottery. Louisiana Lottery authorized for twenty-five years by the State Legislature. (Another Legislature in 1869 having repealed this act, the people were induced to put it into the State Constitution.)

Spanish Revolution. Spain dismissed its queen and organized a government based on universal suffrage. Compulsory tax on dissenters for maintaining Church of England buildings abolished by Parliament.

Japanese Revolution. Revolution in Japan. One of the two rulers, the Tycoon, or military emperor, abolished and all power concentrated in the Mikado, who had previously been a sort of pope or religious chief. The young Mikado Mutsuhito promised that in the near future a deliberative assembly should be formed through which all measures should be decided by public opinion; that uncivilized customs should be given up; impartial justice administered, and that intelligence and learning should be sought for throughout the world to establish the foundation of the empire. Feudalism was at once abolished. Privileges and power were taken from the army, and it was reorganized from all classes of the people. Farmers became landed proprietors instead of tenants, and a system of universal education, copied from Europe and America, was introduced. (In 1878 certain municipal and provincial assemblies were introduced, by which the people got some lessons in self-government. In 1881 the Mikado promised that a Parliament should be established in 1890, which was done.)

1869. Disestablishment of the Irish Church secured by William

Disestablishment. Ewart Gladstone, this year for the first time Premier. Dissenters, including Catholics, were thus relieved from the injustice of compulsory support of the State Church in Ireland, where its adherents were a small minority.

Suez Canal. Suez Canal opened.

Bible in Schools. Bible excluded from Cincinnati public schools by its Board of Education, which action was declared later by the courts unconstitutional.

Prohibition Party. National Prohibition Party organized September 1, in Farwell Hall, Chicago. American Social Science Association established.

1870. U. S. Census, 38,558,371. Woman suffrage enacted in Wyoming and Utah.

"Cut-throat Competition." The decade from 1870 to 1880, says Professor R. T. Ely, was the period when "competition" reached its climax and became a "cut-throat," so cutting its own throat also and introducing in the decade following the worse

villany of monopoly, in which merchants, tired of cutting each other for the benefit of the public, unite in knifing the public for their mutual benefit. The Pope declared "infallible in questions of faith and morals," and almost immediately afterward stripped of temporal possessions by Victor Emanuel and the army of United Italy. The people of the "Eternal City" being allowed to choose whether they would be ruled by the Pope or King, chose the latter. Before this if a visitor to Rome was found on examination at the gates to have a Bible or Testament in his pocket, it was kept from him until his exit from the city. During the Presidency of Rutherford B. Hayes (1869–72) the reconciliation of the South was greatly advanced, civil service reform vigorously initiated, and wine for the first time was excluded from presidential state dinners, for which last the President's wife, Mrs. Lucy Webb Hayes, has been greatly honored, but the President should have equal honor for his hearty concurrence with her, if he did not, indeed, as she said, originate this great reform.

Papal Infallibility.

Hayes.

1871. British universities opened to "dissenters." Chicago fire revealed a wonderful degree of human brotherhood. Five millions of dollars for the fire sufferers came swiftly, every part of the world contributing. A Christian woman of Asia Minor living in a floorless hut sent five dollars.

Chicago Fire and Fraternity.

1872. International uniform lesson system for all nations and denominations inaugurated by Rev. Dr. J. H. Vincent (since become bishop) and Mr. B. F. Jacobs. An improved law for submitting industrial disputes to arbitration by agreement enacted by Parliament, but never used. The secret ballot introduced in Great Britain. Bismarck expelled Jesuits from Germany, withdrew superintendence of education from churches, and enacted Falk laws regulating state support of both Roman Catholic and Protestant churches. (In 1875 another law made marriage a civil contract.) New York Society for the Suppression of Vice established by Anthony Comstock, who began work the year before.

Sabbath-school Lessons.

Ballot Reform.

1873. On June 18, Moody and Sankey began at York, England, their evangelistic career, in a Sabbath morning prayer-meeting with only four present. Their meetings have since become one of the molding forces of the world. On December 23 the Temperance Crusade began in Hillsboro, O., where a band of women went from a prayer-meeeting to pray and sing down the saloons, and led many others all over the

Moody and Sankey.

Temperance Crusade.

land to do likewise, with great results. Senator Dawes in an article in *The Congregationalist*, October 12, 1892, on "The Moral Tone of Congress Now and Then," declared that the alleged intoxication of a Congressman, shortly before the date of his article, would, twenty years before, have passed unnoticed because so common. In other respects also he claims improvement in Congress. On November 19, the notorious Tammany chief, William M. Tweed, was convicted of high crimes and misdemeanors, largely through the energy of *The New York Times*.

Tweed.

1874. First National Conference on Charities and Correction.

Chautauqua. Chautauqua inaugurated by Dr. (now Bishop) J. H. Vincent and Hon. Lewis F. Miller. A Methodist camp-meeting was transformed into a union Sabbath-school institute and summer resort. At its first session some of the temperance crusaders devised the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, soon after organized at Cleveland, O. Federal "referendum" adopted in Switzerland, by which a minority of legislators can secure reference of a proposed law to the people. (In 1892, Sullivan's *Direct Legislation* introduced discussion on the subject in United States.)

W. C. T. U.

Referendum.

1875. Letter from the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda to the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the United States condemning the exclusion of religion from public schools (which exclusion that hierarchy had partially secured by its war on the use of the Bible in them). Parliament enacted a law that the purposes and acts of trade-unions were not to be condemned by courts merely because "in restraint of trade," and that an act lawful for one is not to be considered unlawful if done by several together. Labor unions, thus protected, rapidly increased in power and numbers. *Genesis Legends*, from Assyrian clay tablets, published by George Smith; one of many general confirmations of the Bible. See *Century*, January, 1894; also Greenleaf's *Testimony of the Four Evangelists*, 47.

Labor Unions.

1876. Mikado of Japan made the first day of the week a legal holiday to harmonize with civilized nations.

1877. Fresh Air Funds, for sending poor children in the summer from city slums into the country for a week or two, originated by the *New York Tribune*. (In seventeen years, 123,000 thus sent at average cost of $2.50—free board being given in rural and village homes.) Telephones introduced by Bell, Berliner, and Edison.

Fresh Air Fund.

Telephones.

Charity Organization.

11,682

1878. Great improvements in British "Factory Acts." (See Ely's *Economics*, p. 467.)

Knights of Labor. First general assembly of the Knights of Labor. Phonograph invented. New Pope, Leo XIII., elected.

Turkey. Close of Turko-Russian War. Virtual independence of most of the provinces of Turkey in Europe decreed by the Great Powers, leaving Turkey only 4,000,000 of Europeans out of 8,500,000 ruled by her before the war. All the Christian European provinces would have been delivered from the Mohammedan yoke but for Great Britain's policy of maintaining "the balance of

Missions. power." Christlieb's *Protestant Foreign Missions*, written this year, declared that such missions had quadrupled in thirty years. Missionaries, 2400 (about 90 medical missionaries), with 3200 ordained native preachers and 23,000 native assistants, to which should be added female missionaries, lay-helpers, colporteurs, and Sabbath-school teachers. Schools, 12,000, with 400,000 pupils. Converts, 1,650,000. For year 1878, gain 60,000. Bible published, wholly or in part, in 226 languages and dialects, 60 of which were the beginning of written language to savage peoples. Total circulation, 148,000,000, enough to give one to every ten of the world's population. Annual missionary contribution, $6,225,000. We have inquired in vain for such a general view of Protestant missions in 1890 or more recently as this of Christlieb's, which ought to be supplemented by a like volume every five years.

1879. First complete charity organization society in United States established at Buffalo.

Henry George. Henry George published *Progress and Poverty*, which achieved a great circulation. Mr. Moody founded Northfield Seminary. (The Northfield Bible Conferences began 1880; Mt. Hermon Seminary, 1881; Students' Conference, 1886.)

1880. U. S. Census, 50,155,783.

Statistics. World's population, 1,433,644,100, according to Behm and Wagner. Van Lennep and Schauffler's *Growth of Christianity* gives the number of Christians in all the world as 415,000,000. (The number in the tenth century doubled in 500 years following, then doubled in 300, then, in this century, doubled in 80 years.) Under Christian governments, 747,000,000, of which 445,000,000 are under Protestant governments. (Only 100,000,000 under Christian governments in year 1500, all upholding Roman Catholic or Greek Church. Of 155,000,000 in year 1700, only 32,000,000 under Protestant governments.) The 415,000,000 of Christians are divided thus: Protestants, 135,000,000; Roman

Catholics, 195,000,000; Eastern churches, 85,000,000. Mohammedans, 175,000,000; Jews, 8,000,000; Pagans, 833,000,000. Dorchester's *Problem of Religious Progress* shows that whereas Protestant Evangelicals in United States were only 7 in 100 of the population in 1800 (24, with adherents), they were 15 in 1850, 17½ in 1870, 20 in 1880 (70, counting adherents), while Roman Catholics were 2 in 100 in 1800, counting adherents, 7 in 1850, 12 in 1870, 12½ in 1880. In latter year, "Liberals" 1¼ in 100. The remaining 16¼ is unclassified. From 1850 to 1870 the population gained sixty-six per cent., but evangelical members eighty-nine per cent. From 1870 to 1880 population gained thirty per cent.; evangelical members, fifty per cent. In 1800 they were 1 in 14½ population, in 1880, 1 in 5. Christians had only four sinners each to save to redeem the whole land. Contributions to home missions $2,750,000 per year, 1870 to 1880; foreign, $2,250,000, an average of $1 for each nine people, or about 50 cents per member. Very serious corruption in British elections of this year caused investigation, which led to a very strict ballot law in 1883. See Ivins' *Machine Politics*, p. 132 ff.

Corrupt Elections.

"At this date," says Fabian Tract No. 51, "empirical Individualism reigned supreme." 1880–90 is the great decade of Constitutional prohibition. Temperance people had come to see that laws on such a subject ought to be put into that fundamental law which a corrupted legislature cannot change without the people's consent. The decade started with six victories: 1880, Kansas; 1882, Iowa: 1883, Ohio; 1884, Maine; 1885, South Dakota (then a prospective State); 1886, Rhode Island. Technicalities defeated the expressed wish of the popular majorities in Iowa and Ohio, but in the former case statutory prohibition was substituted. 1887–89 were years of defeat in Michigan, Texas, Tennessee, Oregon, West Virginia, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Washington, Connecticut. Then came two victories in the Dakotas. (At the end of these battles and down to 1894, the States having prohibition in some form were: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Iowa, Kansas, North Dakota, South Dakota, to which add Oklahama, Alaska, and Indian Territory, which are under national prohibition, and large areas under local prohibition in Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina, Arkansas, Massachusetts, Connecticut, with smaller areas in nearly all

Constitutional Prohibition.

Temperance Education.

other States. This is also the great decade of scientific temperance education, of which Mrs. Mary H. Hunt is the great apostle: 1882, Vermont; 1883, New Hampshire, Michigan; 1884, New York, Rhode Island; 1885, Massachusetts, Maine, Kansas; 1886, Alabama, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, Wisconsin, Iowa, Maryland, District of Columbia, and Territories; 1887, California, Colorado, Delaware, Minnesota, West Virginia; 1888, Louisiana, Ohio; 1889, Florida, Illinois; 1890, Washington, Virginia, South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana. (Other States since added: 1892, Mississippi; 1893, Connecticut, Kentucky, Texas; 1895, South Carolina, New Jersey, Indiana, Tennessee; leaving October 1, 1895, only Georgia and Arkansas without such law.)

1881. Y. P. S. C. E.

The first Christian Endeavor society established by Rev. F. E. Clark, D. D., in Portland, Me., since grown to a world-circling movement. Discovery at Thebes in Egypt of the mummies of the Bible Pharaohs, except the Pharaoh of the Exodus.

1882. C. L. S. C.

The Mohammedan Mahdi outbreak in the Soudan. The Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle inaugurated, that Christians might add "to virtue, knowledge," on a plan of thirty minutes useful reading per day, so within reach of all.

National Sunday-school Association formed. (Five years later became International.)

1883. White Cross.

White Cross movement begun by Rt. Rev. Dr. Lightfoot, Bishop of Durham. It spread rapidly through the British Empire and into the United States and other countries. Its pledge is as follows: I promise by the help of God: 1. To treat all women with respect, and endeavor to protect them from wrong and degradation. 2. To endeavor to put down all indecent language and coarse jests. 3. To maintain the law of purity as equally binding upon men and women. 4. To endeavor to spread these principles among my companions, and to try and help my younger brothers. To use every possible means to fulfil the commandment, "Keep thyself pure." This same year the N. W. C. T. U. established a purity department. A very valuable report of the unfavorable moral and religious condition of Europe at this date was given by Professor S. Curtiss of Chicago, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, April, 1884. For a valuable review of twenty-five years, 1858–83, see Quarter-Centennial Sermon of Rev. Dr.

J. M. Buckley, published by Methodist Book Concern, New York (25 cents).

1884. **Temperance.** The temperance flag raised to the peak in *The Popular Science News* of Boston, by editorials of Dr. J. R. Nichols, an eminent chemist, claiming that in prohibiting alcoholic beverages the dangerous exceptions for alcohol in medicine and the arts need no longer be made, as science can now provide substitutes of a less dangerous character in both cases (*Temperance Century*, pp. 87–92). **Plenary Council.** Third Plenary Council condemned Sunday saloons and all liquor-selling, urging all Catholics to find a more honorable way of making a living. Parochial schools were especially urged, and attendance upon public schools allowed to Catholic children only where parochial schools were not provided. **Revision.** Revision of Bible completed.

1885. **Suffrage.** First U. S. Commissioner of Labor, Hon. Carroll D. Wright, appointed. Suffrage extended in England to include every man who pays 4s. per week rent. American Economic Association founded. **School Question.** Rev. Dr. H. K. Carroll (*New York Independent*, January 11, 1894) cites a Roman Catholic school at Suspension Bridge, N. Y., as earliest instance of a parochial school taken under care of the local board of education. The Acting State Superintendent of Education, on complaint, ruled that "sisters" teaching in this State-supported school must put off ecclesiastical dress and names. Instead of that State aid was renounced. (Later, at Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; Faribault, Minn.; and other places, "sisters" were allowed to teach without change of name or dress. **University Settlements.** Toynbee Hall, the beginning of university settlements, established.

1886. **Divorces.** Divorces, of which there were only 9937 in United States in 1867, had increased in 1886 to 25,535, nearly 157 per cent. in twenty years, nearly three times as fast as the population (60 per cent.). The average married life in the case of these divorcees was 9.17 years. Many had been married a score of years. Great Britain, with about same population, granted this year but 475 divorces; France, 6211; Germany, 6078 (*Tribune Almanac*, 1894, p. 232). **King's Daughters.** The Order of the King's Daughters instituted. (In 1894 had grown to 300,000.) **Home Rule.** Mr. Gladstone introduced the Home Rule Bill. Dr. Josiah Strong's *Our Country* published. (In March, 1894, its circulation had reached 160,000.)

1887. For review of fifty years, 1837–87, from British standpoint, see Yonge's *Victorian Half Century*. Great Evangelical Alliance Convention in Washington called earnest attention to serious moral problems.

1888. Ballot reform inaugurated in the United States by the adoption of the Australian ballot in Massachusetts. Ballots printed by the State, secretly cast, and election expenses published to avoid intimidation and bribery. American Sabbath Union organized. See *The Sabbath for Man*, revised edition, p. 567.

Ballot Reform.

Sabbath Union.

1889. Ballot Reform laws adopted by eleven States. Epworth League founded for Methodist young people. Catholic Lay Congress at Baltimore, in response to the writer's request to Cardinal Gibbons for a declaration in favor of cooperation with non-Catholics in Sabbath reform, so advised. Platform utterances asserting the patriotism of Roman Catholics were cheered with burning intensity. National League for the Protection of American Institutions established. Thomas G. Shearman, in November *Forum*, showed that the richest hundred Americans have an average income of not less than $1,200,000 per year, and that in the distribution of the national wealth 1 in 300 receives $70 of each $100, and the other 299 an average of 10 cents each.

Epworth League.

1890. U. S. Census, 62,622,250, counted in one month and two days by electricity at saving of $800,000 over old method. The percentage in cities has grown to 29.12. (At recent rate of growth will become a majority in 1920.) Total valuation of real and personal property, $65,073,091,197. Of this total, $39,544,544,333 represents the value of real estate with improvements thereon, and the remainder, $25,492,546,864, represents the value of personal property. Members of all religious bodies, 19,837,516, of which 6,255,033 are Roman Catholics, 484,850 unevangelical, and 13,097,633 evangelical. This gives a trifle less than 1 in 5 evangelical, and therefore indicates that since 1880 the gain of evangelicals has not kept pace with the gain in the population ; whereas, during the preceding decades of the century, it had greatly outrun it in the total, though not in the cities. Dr. Josiah Strong, in *The New Era* (p. 199) shows that between 1840 and 1890 six leading Protestant denominations in fifty of our largest cities increased thirty-seven per cent. less than the population. The total issues of periodicals in the United States averaged five per

Statistics.

week for every family of five, or more exactly fifty-four for the year for each inhabitant. Professor R. T. Ely (*Economics*, p. 237) shows that in 1890 the people of the United States consumed 972,578,878 gallons of intoxicants, an average of 15.53 gallons for every man, woman, and child, against an average of 6.86 in 1875, showing that liquor consumption increased (as did divorces and murders also for about the same period) about three times as fast as the population. The amount used this year (1890) would fill a channel twenty feet deep, twenty feet wide, and 54½ miles long. The cost of these liquors is at least $700,000,000, or $11 per inhabitant, besides more than as much more of indirect cost in the support of the idleness, vice, criminality, insanity, idiocy, and pauperism caused, besides which 900,808 persons waste their time in making the liquors and about half a million in selling it. "The money invested in the manufacture of poisonous alcoholic beverages, if invested in the six leading useful manufacturing industries of the United States, would, according to the census figures, give employment to thirteen times as many men as it now does." One day's labor in every nine in 1890 devoted to keeping the ginmills going.—*The Voice*, January 25 and February 8, 1894. During this decade, social "clubs" spread from the larger cities to the smaller ones and became a new moral peril, with their bars and card tables sheltered behind the respectability of a "reading room." Five States and Oklahama Territory passed ballot reform laws. The University Extension movement, intended to give busy people, by lectures freely or cheaply furnished by public-spirited college professors, the outlook at least of a college course, introduced into the United States from England. On September 24, President Woodruff of the Mormons suspended polygamy, doubtless to help on statehood; but in this age such action can hardly be reversed. Earlier in the year the U. S. Supreme Court had decided that the law disfranchising Mormons, in view of their disloyal secret oaths, is constitutional, and they had also been defeated in the city elections of their very capital, Salt Lake City. *In Darkest England*, by General Booth of the Salvation Army, published. Blue Line Express No. 517, on Philadelphia and Reading R. R., consisting of four cars, traveled $4\frac{1}{10}$ miles in 2½ minutes, at the rate of a mile in 36½ seconds or $98\frac{4}{10}$ miles per hour, which is the official statement of fastest known railroad time down to the date of

Liquors.

Social Clubs.

Ballot Reform.

University Extension.

Mormon Polygamy Suspended.

"Darkest England."

this item. Industrial history having reached "cut-throat competition" in 1870–79, and passed into the period of those most soulless of corporations, "trusts," in 1880–89, which legislation tried in vain to force back into the competitive stage, this decade showed a growing tendency to accept as the only adequate cure of monopoly, municipalism and nationalism, so far as the field of natural monopolies extends; leaving competition whatever fields it should be able to retain. Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* and subsequent economic writings had promoted such tendencies. Cities more and more undertook the ownership and management of their own electric light plant, their own gas and waterworks, and, in a few cases, provided in street-car charters that the city might run its own street cars whenever ready to buy out the companies at fair appraisements. What is claimed to be first full professorship of the English Bible established in June at Dickenson College. (Many other colleges, shortly before and after this, introduced several English Bible lessons or lectures per week in recognition of an increasing demand.) Chicago Theological Seminary established first full professorship of Christian Sociology, with Professor Graham Taylor as incumbent. American Academy of Political and Social Science established.

"Trusts."

Bellamy's Nationalism.

English Bible in Colleges.

Christian Sociology.

1891. Ballot reform carried in sixteen States (making thirty-two States and two Territories in four years; to which Kansas was added in 1893, an encouraging instance of rapid reform). Congress, having previously outlawed lotteries in the mails nominally but not effectively, enacted a more stringent anti-lottery law with special reference to the Louisiana lottery, which had made Washington only second to New Orleans as a gambling center, but was not able with all its vast corruption fund to prevent Congress from granting the people's demand for this sentence of death upon the national robber. Every post-office was thereupon placarded with an anti-lottery warning of great educational value. The census of India this year showed that the population of Bengal proper, through the persistent work of Mohammedan missionaries, was rapidly changing from Hindu to Mohammedan in religion (New York *Observer*, January 4, 1894). A striking sign of "the People's advent," and the growth of the Christian idea of human equality in England, was the decree of the British admiral at Gibraltar that two of his common sailors, who had died in

Ballot Reform.

Lotteries.

Mohammedan Gains.

Common Sailors Honored.

efforts to save the crew of the wrecked *Utopia* in that harbor, should be buried with the same honors that would have been paid if it had been a Lord Nelson who had died. Truly, "The old order changeth, yielding place to new." (New

Darwinism.

York *Independent*, April 2, 1891.) Virchow, the great scientist of Germany, at a great scientific congress in Vienna, reviewing twenty years of Darwinism, declared its failure to find any ancient people nearer to the apes than we are.

1892. The *Tribune Almanac* for 1894 gives U. S. population for June 30, 1892, as 65,593,000 and the nation's capital as $6,500,000,000; the railroad mileage (U. S.) 165,690.97.

Chinese Exclusion.

The Geary Anti-Chinese law ordering Chinamen tagged or transported in defiance of treaties passed under the hoodlum whip. And yet statistics (*Tribune Almanac*, 1894) show that from 1821 to 1892 only 296,219 Chinamen came to this country, not more than half of them here at time of this legislation, one-sixty-sixth of the immigrants then in the country. U. S. Supreme Court sustained last year's act of Congress against lotteries, and Louisiana added the death-blow to its State lottery in a popular vote refusing to extend its constitutional charter beyond 1893.

Vice-Pope.

Monsignor Satolli was this year sent to the United States as a vice-Pope. He seemed to relax, but did not, the 1884 Plenary Council program as to parochial schools, except to check the severe punishment of Roman Catholic children who attend public schools when parochial schools are at hand. They and their parents were not to be therefore excluded from mass but urged otherwise to avail themselves of the parochial schools. All Protestant denominations, by agreement, declined further sectarian appropriations

Indian Schools.

from the United States Treasury for their Indian schools, but the Roman Catholics continued to receive such aid, claiming it paid only for the secular part of the education, while the Church's contributions paid for the religious part. The great events in the history of Christian progress for this year were:

"This is a Christian Nation."

The unanimous opinion of the U. S. Supreme Court on February 29 in the Trinity Church case, that "This is a Christian nation," and the accordant votes of Congress in

Sabbath-closing Law.

July, with only sixty-two dissenting in both houses, for the Sabbath closing of the World's Fair. This decision and this law will be seen to be very significant if compared with the last preceding action of Congress on any important Sabbath question, namely, its adverse votes on Sunday mails, influenced by

sophistic arguments against "religious legislation." In this year both the National W. C. T. U. and the International Sunday-school Association formed affiliated world societies for like objects. Troops called out to suppress labor riots in Pennsylvania, New York, Tennessee, Idaho, and Wyoming.

World Societies.

Labor Riots.

1893.

Missionary Centennial Statistics.

This being the centennial year of the modern foreign missionary movement, which dates from the sailing of William Carey's ship, Rev. James S. Dennis, in Princeton lectures on "Foreign Missions after a Century," gave the following missionary statistics: Bible fully translated into 90 languages, partly into 230 more. Total circulation of Bibles in one hundred years, 350,000,000. Two hundred and eighty missionary societies, 9000 missionaries at work, and 44,532 native assistants. Almost a million converts have been enrolled, and there are 4,000,000 more who are "adherents," under supervision and influence of missions. Seventy thousand pupils in the higher missionary academies and colleges, and 608,000 in the village schools. Conversions in 1892 on the average 2000 per week. Missionary contributions that year 14½ millions of dollars ($14,588,354). A tract in Africa, north of the Congo, as large as Europe, without a single missionary. Ecuador and Bolivia, no missionaries; Venezuela and Peru, but 1 each. Thirty millions of people in South America untouched by missionary effort. Of 2000 islands in Pacific, only 350 have as yet been touched, even in part, by the power of the gospel.

School Question.

Open proposals made in New York, New Jersey, and Maryland for a legislative division of the school fund met with such vigorous opposition that the Roman Catholic authorities ordered them withdrawn, not, however, withdrawing the claim that such division ought to be made. *The Catholic Standard* of Philadelphia, the organ of Archbishop Ryan, in an article entitled, "Stop Fooling with the School Question" (quoted in the New York *Independent*, January 11, 1894), after condemning the agitation at that time as "throwing dynamite into the air," says: "The Catholics never did and never will approve of the exclusion of religious teaching from the schools . . . the majority of their fellow-citizens not being yet convinced . . . they are content for the present to exercise their right of providing for their own children." (The same article in *The Independent* showed that denominational schools were in 1894 receiving State aid in New York, and the

same was shown about the same time, by documentary evidence, as to Maryland.) The World's Fair at Chicago exhibited, with arts and inventions, the great peril of our civilization, lawlessness. In spite of the Sabbath-closing law of Congress and the Sabbath law of Illinois and the agreement of the Directory to close the gates on the Sabbath, they were opened except two or three Sabbaths. Liquors were sold, in spite of national and State laws and popular protests, on prohibition territory, and indecent Oriental dances were also exhibited from first to last, in accordance with contracts made by the Directory, but in defiance of law—afterward exhibited throughout the nation. For seventeen days men of many faiths united in the Lord's Prayer at the World's Parliament of Religions. Despite the unparalleled patronage of railroads in the United States in connection with the World's Fair, roads representing one-seventh of the mileage went into the hands of receivers; not, says Dun's commercial reports, because of the financial stringency in the country at large, but because of "reckless or improper conduct, speculation, and manipulation." An unparalleled European epidemic of bomb-throwing anarchy characterized the year and continued beyond it. Thirty-one or more persons having been killed in a year in football games in Great Britain and the United States, the year closed with the determination by college officers and the public that the game must die, or be so modified in its new and brutal "mass plays" as not to maim and kill the players.

World's Fair Lawlessness.

Railroad Failures.

Anarchy.

Football.

As a sample of the recent wonderful progress of surgery we put on record the following from the New York *Christian Advocate*: "A commercial traveler in Kansas City was struck deaf, dumb, and blind on Sunday, May 22. The following Thursday surgeons concluded that a clot had formed in the brain. They opened the skull and removed the clot, and his faculties returned one by one, leaving him as sound as ever." The will of Charles Bathgate Beck inaugurated a new departure, in that it included a million-dollar bequest to a reform organization, whether to that known in connection with Anthony Comstock's name or that of Dr. Parkhurst, the courts were expected to determine. Rich men having given in ruts, had never before recognized that reforms are at least as important as charities, to which they are related as prevention to cure, even education being a less radical need than reformation. Mr. Beck remembered charity and education, but inaugurated a new

Surgery.

Bequest to Reform.

movement in not forgetting reform. One of the most important acts of the year in the field of reform was the introduction of "Good Citizenship" committees in the Endeavor societies, by which young Christians were organized to fight intemperance, Sabbath-breaking, political corruption, and kindred perils to citizenship. The Students' Volunteer Missionary movement was reported this year to have grown to an enrolment of six thousand young people, who had in then recent years agreed to go on graduation as missionaries so far as the churches would send them. Statistics given in *The Congregationalist* (January 18, 1894) for 1893 show that of college students, exclusive of women's colleges, nearly fifty-five per cent. of the 70,419 students are professing Christians. Congress passed law requiring railroad companies to provide automatic couplers and air-brakes in protection of their employees before 1898. Chinese Exclusion Act of previous Congress having been resisted by the Chinese, backed by public sentiment, but subsequently declared constitutional by one majority in the National Supreme Court, was by Congress amended (not mended) by extending the time for registration six months. Notwithstanding a very general demand for more restriction of immigration, Congress passed a law which only nominally increased the safeguards at the nation's doors. The report of the Commissioner of Immigration, J. H. Senner, showed that 352,885 immigrants landed at Ellis Island, New York, of whom 140,447 or about two-fifths had no trade and 54,576 could neither read nor write, Italians preponderating in this last group. (By figuring on the immigration statistics of the *Tribune Almanac* for 1894, we find that of the 16,500,000 immigrants entering the United States from June, 1821, to June, 1893, there were about 6,750,000, two-fifths of all, of the better sort, such as may be counted reenforcements rather than invaders—immigrants from England, Scotland, Wales, Ulster, Canada, Holland, Scandinavia, to which we add one-third of the Germans.) In 1893, considered by itself, the "reenforcements" were but two-sevenths, the "invaders," five-sevenths. The National Civil Service Reform League organized an "Anti-Spoils League" as an auxiliary, which any person who is opposed to the spoils system can join by signing the following statement to that effect. (Its office is 54 William Street, New York.) "We hereby declare ourselves in favor of the complete abolition of the spoils system from the

"Good Citizenship."

Railroad Safety Appliances.

Chinese Exclusion.

Immigration.

Civil Service Reform.

public service, believing that system to be unjust, undemocratic, injurious to political parties, fruitful of corruption, a burden to legislative and executive offices, and in every way opposed to the principles of good government. We call upon all in authority to extend to the utmost the operation of the present reform laws ; and by additional legislation to carry the benefits of the merit system to the farthest possible limits under our national, State, and municipal governments."

Financial Depression.

This year afforded a most striking evidence of the new solidarity of the race, its involuntary socialism as compared to former individualism. Only two generations ago "the independent farmer" was a reality. He was sure of shelter and enough to eat, drink, and wear, for he provided it all from his own farm. And the local merchant could hardly fail except by his own fault. But bad financiering in the Argentine Republic and in Australia, and the suspension of silver coinage in India, affected unfavorably the financial interests of every farmer and village tradesman in the United States, through mere distrust, in a period of abundant crops and unparalleled prosperity. The suspension of silver coinage by a special session of Congress did not cure the financial stringency. In the management of the great problem of the unemployed it became manifest that scientific charity had made great progress among the people, and it was everywhere recognized as desirable to render assistance only in return for work whenever work could be arranged for. In many instances cities undertook public works as the best method of helping the unemployed, with little criticism of this "socialism." The rich gave large sums besides, and much time as well to plans of relief.—See *Review of Reviews*, January, 1894.

Pope urges Bible Study.

Pope Leo XIII. issued "an encyclical to stimulate the faithful to study the Bible" (*Catholic Review*, December 9, 1893), which with previous issuing of the Bible, illustrated, in monthly portions in Italy and Austria at a penny a number, chiefly for Roman Catholic readers, is to be counted a sign of the times.

Austrian Franchise.

The government in Austria proposed an extension of the franchise to universal manhood suffrage. The proposal was defeated by the middle classes who, in case of such extension, would lose the controlling influence which they now possess through limited suffrage. But the proposal itself signified progress.

Massachusetts Democratic platform included a resolution

Taxing Bequests. for taxing large inheritances heavily, as is done in New York State, favored election of Senators by popular vote, and the

"Government of the People." referendum by which acts of legislation can be referred back to the people—all significant of growing tendencies. A commission of fifty men appointed by *The Century* magazine, including

Temperance Investigations. millionaires and college presidents, to make thorough investigation of the temperance question, spending thirty thousand dollars in physiological experiments alone. National Divorce Reform League reported that up to close of this year nineteen States had appointed commissioners to unify the varied divorce laws of the United States, and eleven legislatures, including South Dakota, this year had improved such laws.

Cigarettes. Anti-Cigarette League formed in New York City schools by Commissioner Hubbell of the Board of Education. The

Opium. British Opium Commission, investigating that curse in India, very much prejudiced and hampered by the revenue feature, which prevented impartial study of the physical and moral evils involved. Mysore Government in India forbade infant marriages of boys under fourteen and girls under eight.

Social Vice. Dr. Kate Bushnell and Mrs. Elizabeth Andrew of the W. C. T. U. exposed authorized prostitution in the British army of India. Correctness of their horrible story admitted by the commander. Five thousand dollars raised in England to suppress this licensed curse of the army.

Gambling. Judge Burgess of the Missouri Supreme Court (following like decisions of other courts) decided that betting on grain, or option dealing on boards of trade, is gambling. The

Lottery. Louisiana Lottery, as such, died with this year, but its promoters arranged to reappear at once in the new *rôle* of "The Honduras National Lottery," having bought permission for their drawings in Honduras, in the expectation of using foreign mails protected by treaty, if necessary, for continuing by indirection their forbidden robberies. That they expected to intercept their mail and also to use express companies largely was suggested by the erection of a great office at Tampa, Fla., the port of departure for Honduras. It should be noted here that lotteries, discontinued almost wholly for a dozen years in Protestant church fairs, had at this date begun to be condemned and disused in Catholic fairs also, with good promise of being left entirely to professional gamblers by the end of the century.

1894. *The Citizen* of Jacksonville exposed the new schemes of the

Lottery. Louisiana Lottery under its new mask, and Senator Hoar intro-

duced a bill in Congress forbidding importation of, or interstate commerce in lottery goods. U. S. population, June 30,

Statistics. 1894, at rate of increase shown by last decade, 68,500,000, an average of only 1 to each 160 acres of land. Internal Revenue Commissioner reports 243,609 liquor dealers, 1 to each 257 people, 1 to each 50 voters. Revenue from liquors, $127,240,362, a mere trifle beside the direct and indirect cost of liquor. The number of saloons in proportion to the population was less than in 1873, although the relative consumption had greatly increased; showing that reducing the number of saloons is of little benefit. *Tribune Almanac* of this year reported college students (U. S.), 133,682. Public-school enrolment, 13,234,103. Add to the 747,000,000 under Christian governments in 1880 the 24,000,000 taken under such governments up to this year in the Congo Free State, and millions more in that continent, with the growth of the Americas and Europe and the acquisitions of France in Siam, and the result is more than half of the world's population were under Christian governments in 1894, though most of it far from Christianized in character. Swiftest ocean passage to date, that of the *Campania*, five days, twelve hours, seven minutes. On February 6 a pneumatic tube system introduced in Chicago, by which packages could be sent to any connected point of the city in one minute. The year began with a plebiscite

Prohibition. or informal vote in Ontario, which gave a hundred thousand majority for prohibition (Manitoba and Prince Edward Island had previously given a like verdict)). Unexpectedly, the large cities, including Toronto, gave majorities for prohibition, except those bordering on the United States. The Students' Volunteer Missionary movement, at its convention of this year, reported 3200 thus far enrolled since the beginning in 1887, of whom 686 have already sailed. One thousand of those remaining attended the convention. March 20, Neal

Sabbath Reform. Dow's ninetieth birthday. April 22, Centennial of Pennsylvania Sabbath law. June 1–6, about five thousand associa-

Y. M. C. A. tions celebrated the jubilee of the beginning of Y. M. C. A. November 27, 28, Fiftieth Anniversary of First National Sabbath Convention. Manitoba's refusal to divide its public-

School Question. school funds with the parochial schools sustained by the highest judicial authority of the British Empire. Senator E. D. White made Justice of U. S. Supreme Court, the first Roman Catholic appointed since Taney. The passionate

Liberia.

appeals of Bishop Turner (colored) in favor of the emigration of his people to Liberia began to produce visible results in March of this year, when thirty-eight negroes sailed from New York as the advance guard of a much larger number they declared would follow. On April 5 Judge Caldwell of the United States court at Omaha rendered a decision that organized labor is organized "capital" as surely as organized money, and has as much right as the last named to use the power of united action in affecting the price of labor. The Procurator of the Holy Synod of Russia confessed the persecution of the Stundists ineffective for preventing their rapid increase. In this year Russia changed its attitude of toleration toward Bible societies to one of repression. Movement

Check Reins.

to do away with the cruel check-rein reported to be gaining in England. Even chameleons protected against the cruel ladies who attempted to wear them as living ornaments. On Janu-

Christian Amendment.

ary 25 Hon. E. A. Morse, M. C., at the suggestion of Rev. H. H. George, D. D., and the writer, and others, introduced the following constitutional amendment in Congress (House Resolution, 120): "We, the people of the United States, devoutly acknowledging the supreme authority and just government of Almighty God in all the affairs of men and nations, grateful to Him for our civil and religious liberty; and encouraged by the assurances of His Word to invoke His guidance, as a Christian nation, according to His appointed way, through Jesus Christ, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution of the United States of America." Remarkable strike in Chicago in the summer of this year and remarkable report by an official commission later upon it. See "Strike" in Alphabetical Index. Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst exposed the alliance between police and law-breakers in New York, which led to a legislative investigation by which his charges were more than verified, and that led to such political action in the annual election as took the control of the city from Tammany Hall. The decision of

Strike Forbidden.

Judge Jenkins that the employees of the Northern Pacific Road, which was in his custody as a United States judge, must not strike, caused great commotion in labor organizations and led to Congressional investigation. Industry began this

Niagara. year to harness the vast water power of Niagara to the largest turbine wheels ever built, promising vast commercial results.

Lords. The opposition of the House of Lords not only to the Home Rule Bill, but also to the Employers' Liability Bill and the Parish Councils' Bill, renewed proposals for abolishing or limiting its powers. Suggested that its veto be not valid over two affirmations of the Commons.

National Municipal Reform Movement Inaugurated. A convention in Philadelphia of persons interested in municipal reform appointed a committee, Mr. James C. Carter, New York, chairman, to form a National Municipal League.

Newspapers. In a nasty breach of promise case at Washington, the daily press not only published the nastiness in full, but twice committed contempt of court by publishing what was not in evidence, all emphasizing the need of newspaper reform, as the prize-fight reports of an earlier time in the year had done.

Tibet. Arrangements made for the admission of missionaries into Tibet for the first time.

SOCIAL PROGRESS IN 1895.

Review and Outlook, September 14.

1895. BALLOT RÈFORM.—The only backward step this year in ballot reform is that of Michigan's legislature forbidding the placing of the same name on two tickets to prevent union of two parties on one candidate. New York has improved its law, but has made a dangerous provision that the ignorant voter may have a guide (and so a bribe), though party symbols provide sufficiently for all save the blind. A ballot reform revival is this year stirring the South, in which are the only States that have not adopted the Australian ballot, namely (according to the *Tribune Almanac* for 1895), Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia. (See Alphabetical Index for additional matter on each topic.)

ANTI-BRUTALITY CRUSADE.—Although Florida by statute and Louisiana by decision have this year warned off prize-fighters, the newspapers and theaters are doing their utmost to mend their impaired halos of heroism, and real prize-fights have occurred during the year in Brooklyn and elsewhere by permission of perjured city authorities. Another anti-brutality crusade is the agitation against the Mexican bull-fight announced for the Atlanta Exposition. At this writing it is not clear whether Texas also will join the "New South" by preventing the illegal prize-fight announced for October in that State.

THE NEW CHARITY.—Charity Organization Society reports show a large decrease in applications for relief as compared to 1893 and 1894, and the Pingree plan of truck farming on city lots, generally approved, found few who needed its aid to employment this spring. The Loan Bureau of the New York Charity Organization Society has compelled East Side pawnbrokers to come down to its just rate of interest, one per cent. per month.

1895. CHURCH AND STATE.—The resignation of Count Kalnoky from the Austrian Government is a victory for the anti-clerical element and an encouragement to the movement to separate Church and State. So is the act of the Italian parliament making a national holiday of September 20, the date of the Pope's surrender to the army of United Italy. Disestablishment in Wales has been postponed by the resignation of Lord Rosebery's ministry.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.—The most serious backset this year is the exception of veterans from civil service rules by the Massachusetts Legislature, despite the Governor's veto. The gains are much greater. Chicago, by fifty thousand majority, adopted civil service reform for all city departments. The legislature later gave it to the whole county. Both acts are without precedent. Civil service rules have also been extended to the Government printing office on petition of the employees, making the classified service 51,000 in all up to July 1. There have been many other extensions of the rules in cities, States, and in the national government. Secretary Olney, on becoming Secretary of State, gave out that he favored the extension of civil service rules to consuls. This reform has been aided most of all by "our friends, the enemy"—the bosses—who have furnished, in New York especially, a "horrible example" of the spoils system.

DIVORCE REFORM.—One house of the South Dakota Legislature voted to restore the old ninety-day law to draw "divorce colonies," but the law failed in the other house.

DRESS REFORM.—Dress reforms that pen and voice have long attempted in vain, the cycle is accomplishing swiftly—many think too swiftly. It seems likely that the outcome will be a golden mien between bloomers and the old street-sweeping skirts—a street dress adapted to exercise and to business, at once hygienic and womanly. It is also significant that at

1895. the great Christian Endeavor Convention of this year, on request of the presiding officer, the ladies removed their high hats, which fashion should never have been allowed to put upon them in public halls.

Drinking Usages.—When the legislatures of Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois, and the national Congress all close in drunken brawls, as they did this year; and when such a city as Cleveland, whose leading business men are of Puritan stock and members of churches, spends thousands of dollars for champagne to dine the boards of trade of other Ohio cities, as it did in June, and when the July elections in England have shown unprecedented victories for liquor candidates, it is evident that the drinking usages are far from dead. That beer is gaining even in the churches is suggested by the introduction of ads of beer "tonics" and "extracts" in several religious papers this year. These same papers also joined in the effort to secure a veto of the New York law on scientific temperance education, as did also several eminent pastors and college presidents. On the other hand, it is encouraging that the law found such large support in New York State that the attempt to secure a veto failed, and the law stands. Temperance education laws have also been passed this year in New Jersey, South Carolina, Indiana, and Tennessee. In Cleveland, the champagne dinner referred to was preceded by two public dinners without wine, that of the National Municipal Conference and that of the Republican leagues. It has not been made public, as it should be, that the leading hotel, in preparation for the latter convention, extended its bar through its great billiard room, but took it down the second day for lack of patronage, finding these clubs of young men not yet developed into politicians. Congress also did something for our side in enacting a law for the investigation of the economic aspects of the liquor question by the United States Department of Labor. Indiana's legislature also helped both sides—the temperance side by the Nicholson law, the best form of local option. This form of prohibition has also added much new territory in Texas. The defeat of the Norwegian bill in the Massachusetts Legislature, in spite of the support of many good people, was accomplished by the opposition of a much

1895. larger proportion of the good citizens. The great gatherings of the W. C. T. U., in Washington and London, showed by the great petition and by reports from all lands that the nations of the Old World are increasingly, though slowly, recognizing their need of total abstinence and prohibition. The French Association for the Advancement of Science has this year raised a note of warning against the increasing evils of alcoholism in that country, thus reaching the milestone which the United States passed one hundred and ten years ago. Russia has also recognized the evils of the liquor traffic by a provision to make it, gradually, a government monopoly. One of the most encouraging events of the year has been the Silver Jubilee of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America, which has but 70,000 members as yet, but made a profound impression upon both friends and enemies, and showed a hopeful growth in that church of anti-saloon sentiment.

EDUCATION.—Although the large space given to sporting in the papers would lead us to expect otherwise, out-of-school studies, especially summer schools, are increasing, more than one hundred of the latter having been held this year. It seems likely that nearly every watering-place will find it necessary to have its course of lectures as well as its boats and tennis courts. An ever increasing number of colleges are using their buildings in the summer vacation for studies by their alumni and others. The Oberlin Institute of Christian Sociology, of which Rev. Washington Gladden, LL. D., is president, is worthy of special commendation and imitation because labor leaders were there brought face to face with Christian capitalists and pastors in friendly conference. The question whether the State should support sectarian public schools has been raised this year in England, in Belgium, and in Manitoba, and has been settled affirmatively in the first two instances. Manitoba at this writing refuses to divide the school fund, despite orders to that effect from both the Dominion Government and the British Privy Council. In Manitoba as in England the Episcopalians stand with the Roman Catholics for sectarian public schools. A new departure in education is the law of Illinois providing for the retirement of teachers after 25 years in the case of men, 20 in the case of

1895. women, on pensions to be provided by deducting one per cent. each year from their salaries.

FINANCE.—Mulhall's "Standard Statistics" in *The North American Review* for June show this country to be not only first of nations in education, but also in wealth, increasing at the rate of seven millions a day in riches. In two years preceding June 29, 1895, the deficit in national finances has grown to $112,500,000, but the interest in tariff reform upward is but languid. The silver question rather absorbs interest. The decisive battles on this subject are: the action of the Kentucky and Maryland and Ohio Democratic conventions approving the Administration's antagonism to free silver, and the approval of free silver by the Nebraska Democratic convention. The contest has not risen above the appearance of a selfish battle of borrowers and lenders into the realm of patriotism and equity, where it must finally be settled. At this writing the commercial interests of the country, just recovering slowly from the panic caused by political tinkering with finance in 1893, seem likely to be again disturbed not only by silver and tariff agitation but especially by the proposal of the bankers to retire the greenbacks, and by the danger of new foreign loans when the foreign syndicate that has promised to protect the Treasury's gold reserve until October 1 reaches the limit of its obligation, and so the point where it is for its interest to compel another bond issue.

GAMBLING.—Lotteries have received this year a deadly, if not a death blow, in the passage by Congress of the Hoar Anti-lottery Bill, which was followed and supported by new State laws in Florida and Kansas. Montana has torn down the signs that have so long disgraced the State, "Licensed Gambling." Connecticut has forbidden policy playing. Even race-track gambling has received legislative blows this year in Rhode Island, Minnesota, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. But on the other hand race-track gambling monopolies have been legalized in Missouri and New York—in the latter case despite a new provision in the constitution, a legis-

1895. lative crime urged on by all the daily papers of New York City. These adverse acts are offset again by the decisive anti-gambling victories of the Civic Federation of Chicago, which has suppressed all open gambling in Chicago, with the aid of the new city government, while the Christian Citizenship League has defeated, in the Illinois Legislature, legislative bills to legalize race-track gambling. Further indication that Anglo-Saxon sentiment against gambling is growing is afforded in the downfall of Lord Rosebery, which was partly due to his promotion of the national vice of betting by which he outraged "the Nonconformist conscience," which is the very heart of the Liberal Party. In France and Belgium, however, nine tourist resorts have recently added gambling establishments in imitation of Monte Carlo, and this evil is likely to spread to other parts of the Continent. Massachusetts has passed a law this year against "bucket shop" betting on prices, which it is to be hoped will prove a net strong enough to catch the larger grain and stock gamblers who secured it to rid themselves of competition among the poor.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP.—There is a steady growth of municipalism—city ownership of waterworks and lighting plants and provisions in new charters for street railways that the city may buy them out after a certain time—but since the suspension of *The New Nation* no paper gives us this news systematically. Why daily papers do not is not hard to guess. The granting of franchises to private corporations by city fathers without reward (except to themselves) is still, however, the rule. New York aldermen have indeed risen to such a height of virtue as to reject the offer of the Metropolitan Street Car Company to pay $250,000 to the city for its franchise as bribery, so making the excuse to give the franchise without such return to the city to the rival company that is supposed to have paid its bribes direct to the city fathers themselves.

The first official reports of city ownership of street railways in Glasgow and Leeds have been made this year and are very favorable to the new plan. These reports and the Brooklyn strike led to an unsuccessful but encouraging effort in the New York Legislature to secure to New York, Brooklyn, and

1895. Buffalo the right to vote on city ownership of street railways. Judge Gaynor of Brooklyn aided the movement by asserting such railways to be public institutions, owing even more to the public than to the stockholders. The numerous needless killings done by the fenderless deadly trolleys run by overworked motormen aid the movement for city ownership most of all. In lieu of city ownership, Detroit has secured three-cent fares in that city, on which, by use of transfers, one may ride twenty-two miles, which beats the world. There are two and three cent fares abroad, but for shorter distances. Russia has recently reduced first-class fares on its government railways to one cent per mile. An article in *The Atlantic Monthly* advocating "A National Transportation Department" has attracted general and favorable attention, significant of growth of public sentiment toward government ownership of railways. *The Voice* published interviews (June 13) with senators and congressmen, showing that government ownership of the telegraph will be urgently advocated in the next Congress.

HUMANE MOVEMENTS.—The report that vivisection experiments on living animals were being made in public schools has been confirmed by investigation, and the agitation against them gives good promise of success. The favor with which the "Red Cross Society of Japan" has been welcomed, by government and people alike, in its efforts for sick and wounded soldiers, indicates the growth of humane ideas in that half-Christianized empire.

IMMIGRATION.—The efforts of Senator Chandler and Congressman Stone to secure increased restrictions of immigration, for which the hard times, when there was more emigration than immigration, was a favorable opportunity, were defeated in the last Congress by the direct opposition of the Administration through its Immigration Department. A written report, specially made for the writer by the Bureau of Immigration, shows that the total number of immigrants received by this country for the year ending June 30 was 149,016 males and 109,520 females. The number debarred

1895. was 2412. The Storrs law passed this year by the New Jersey legislature, which forbids naturalization within thirty days of election, has been upheld by the courts.

IMPURITY.—One of the most prominent subjects of legislation in many States this year has been the "age of consent," by which is meant the age when consent becomes not a justification but a palliation of sexual congress out of wedlock; the age being stated in the law on rape. Kansas (1887) and Wyoming (1890) were the only States in which girls were before this year protected to the age of majority, that is, eighteen, in person as well as property. This year New York, Missouri, and Colorado have been added to the list. Efforts to pass the same law shamefully failed in Indiana, Wisconsin, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Delaware; in which last the age is seven, though falsely reported as raised through confusion with another law. In North Carolina the age was raised from ten to fourteen years. The defeats are less to be lamented because the friends of purity have not yet prepared a suitable law to be urged everywhere. They will doubtless agree on such a bill at the national conference of the American Purity Alliance in Baltimore, October 10–14. The need of such conference is seen in the fact, of which I am informed by the Colorado Secretary of State, that the new law of that commonwealth by inadvertence forbids marriage itself up to eighteen years of age. The imprisonment of Oscar Wilde for nameless indecency is a wholesome blow to nasty "realism" in literature and art. There is hope that the Maid of Orleans revival and the accompanying reaction against infidelity in France will both strengthen the reaction against impurity in that country. The most unfavorable sign in our own country is the increasing shamelessness of the "living pictures" of our theaters, which went from flesh-colored tights to bronze and silver powder, and then to marble powder "absolutely without drapery," and, alas! without effective protest. The defense of Trilby's "innocent unchastity" by respectable readers, and its welcome to even Christian homes, is also a sign of the times.

1895. LABOR AND CAPITAL.—It was thought by some that strikes accompanied by lawless violence had ended with the failure of the Chicago strike in 1894, but the Brooklyn street railway strike of this year, though justified as a strike, was hardly less unjustifiable in its lawlessness than that of Chicago. There has also been occasion in Ohio and West Virginia to suppress riots of striking miners by troops. The anti-capitalistic feeling of working men has been especially intensified by three court decisions: (1) That of the Illinois Supreme Court, repealing the anti-sweatshop law, in pretended defense of workwomen's rights to labor as many hours as they choose; (2) that of the national Supreme Court repealing the income tax, which affected only the richest two per cent. of the people; (3) that of the same court, confirming the jail sentence of the Chicago strike leaders. Not working people only, but the general public, have had their distrust of corporations and trusts increased by their triumphs in the so-called reform legislatures of this year—especially in New York, Wisconsin, Missouri, and Illinois; of which the last two were called back by their governors in special session, because of the needed laws they had been prevented from passing by corporation influence. Anti-capitalistic feeling has been further intensified by the sudden increase of the prices of oil and beef, which was attributed, with good reason, to the oil and meat trusts. On the other hand is to be noted the decision of the Illinois Supreme Court against the Whisky Trust in particular, which at the same time outlaws all trusts. The people, however, moderate their joy by remembering that like decisions against the Oil Trust and Sugar Trust in Ohio and New York have proved waste paper. Anti-capitalistic feeling has been yet further fostered by the growing tendency of multi-millionaires to make extravagant displays of their wealth in vast landed estates, palatial yachts, $3,000,000 palaces, $50,000 fountains, and $20,000 dinners. Among the encouraging news is the success of a strike for a living wage in the sweat-shops of New York, the abolition of the "pluck me" company stores in Pennsylvania, and the passage by the expiring Rosebery ministry of a bill extending the excellent provisions of the British factory acts to all laundries, shops, etc., having six employees—a bill the like of which failed in the New York legislature. Among the most hopeful aspects of the labor controversy is the increase

1895. of sociological studies and the agitation for a union of reformers in a new anti-saloon and anti-monopoly party, in which are interested Mr. C. B. Spahr of *The Outlook*, ex-Governor John P. St. John, and Dr. I. K. Funk and Mr. E. J. Wheeler of *The Voice*, which is likely to crystallize in time to celebrate the opening of the new century. We note also the passage of industrial arbitration bills by the Illinois legislature and the national House of Representatives—this national bill did not pass the Senate—and best of all is the voluntary raising of wages by hundreds of firms all across the land on the return of good times, which has never been done so generally on like occasions in the past—an indication of growing altruism, as well as a prudent preventive of strikes.

LAW ENFORCEMENT.—Lynchings still continue in the North, and are yet more frequent in the South. Boston celebrated July 4 by an anti-A. P. A. riot. In Savannah an ex-priest was mobbed earlier in the year, but was protected by the authorities. The national habit of law-breaking is, however, slightly decreasing. On July 7 the only cities named in the telegraph columns as having Sunday ball-games were Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Louisville, Burlington, Terre Haute, Quincy, Omaha, St. Joseph, Dubuque, Grand Rapids. The Brooklyn

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

1895. Law Enforcement Society has shown its "reform" mayor and other city officers that convictions for Sunday liquor selling can be had, even from police court juries, by earnest and efficient prosecutions. But the great news of this half year in law enforcement has been the vigorous example of impartial enforcement of all laws that has been afforded by that scholar in politics, Theodore Roosevelt, as chief police commissioner of New York. By assuming the rôle of detective, which the rogues have persuaded many good people to despise, he proved the negligence of his police, and then rallied them to the full discharge of their sworn duties. After several had been given jail sentences and others severely fined by Recorder Goff, the liquor dealers surrendered unconditionally. Two hundred pleaded guilty at one time and paid $8000 in fines, and The Wine, Liquor, and Beer Dealers' Association passed a resolution to obey the law, which is also their recorded confession of habitual lawlessness. The result is a great decrease of Sunday arrests, a reduction of hospital patients, and proof that even liquor sellers may be compelled to obey the laws. Mr. Roosevelt has contributed to the cause of law and order words as sterling as his deeds, in the September *Forum*. The so-called "German-American Reform Union" has shown itself less devoted to reform than to Sunday beer by opposing law enforcement, but of 155 German tradesmen interrogated on the subject by *The Evening Post*, 104 favored the strict enforcement of the law—perhaps for varied motives. Chicago, whose reformers in the City Hall and Civic Federation have been picking and choosing among the laws as a bill of fare—attacking gambling, but sparing its "pals," the saloon and brothel—are watching New York, which has suddenly taken from them the first place in municipal reform by the dash of this new hero, and may be expected to move forward to match his achievement in due time. Saratoga has shown commendable fidelity in suppressing gambling at that resort. The Governor of Kansas has also proved himself the "Chief Executive" of that State by a vigorous though tardy war on the illegal saloons.

1895. MUNICIPAL REFORM.—*The Century* magazine for July declares: "The widespread interest in the improvement of local government is the most conspicuous sign of the times." The reports made in June at the National Conference on Municipal Reform at Cleveland confirm the statement of *The Century*. In a multitude of cities there has been some slight gain, either in better officers, or, more frequently, in an awakened demand for better ones, often accompanied by investigation and organization. The most encouraging gains were in the two cities that seemed most hopelessly ring-ridden—Chicago and New York—in both of which large majorities elected new officers for this year on reform platforms. But New York is the only conspicuous case of the successful application of the non-partisan principle advocated for city elections by all municipal reformers. In other cases the reform candidate has usually been named by a party caucus, though elected by the aid of the better men of the other party. Although the New York Legislature shamefully neglected reform bills, because its bosses were not bought with patronage, the power of removal bill and the police magistrates' bill has enabled Mayor Strong to give the city good officers. The legislature failed to pass the police reorganization bill, but New York is getting the police reorganization desired through Mr. Roosevelt—another conspicuous proof that men are more than measures. The only police officer of those exposed by the Lexow investigation that has been sent to prison is Inspector McLaughlin, although others, including Byrnes and Williams, have had their resignations sent them and are out of office. Mayor Wier of Lincoln, Neb., and Mayor Kennedy, of Alleghany, have distinguished themselves by suppressing all open prostitution, and Mayor Denny, of Indianapolis, by suppressing Sunday saloons and Sunday baseball. Among minor municipal reforms a beginning has been made in street-cleaning in Chicago and New York City, but no large American city, except Dayton, yet compares in this respect with Paris and other Continental capitals, where one who throws a bit of paper in the street is requested by the police to pick it up.

1895. NEWSPAPER REFORM.—The newspapers have furnished, as usual, the best arguments for newspaper reform: (1) by fake and false news, including false rumors of the engagement of Miss Willard, of the breakdown of the Hawaian Republic, of ex-President Harrison's refusal of a retainer from the liquor dealers, of South Dakota's alleged repeal of its divorce law; (2) by the omission of such important news as the liquor investigation ordered by Congress, and many other facts in this epitome of news that will be new to faithful readers of daily papers; (3) by the general friendliness of the daily press to the gambling bills recently before various legislatures, and other bills hostile to good morals. There is as yet no sign that the supreme need of religion and reform, a syndicate of daily papers friendly to both, will be established in this century. The fine of five hundred dollars imposed on the London editor of *The Review of Reviews*, for contempt of court in anticipating the condemnation of a prisoner on trial in July, was a serious blow to "trial by newspapers." Probably the most effective blow struck for newspaper reform this year is the editorial by Charles Dudley Warner on this subject in *Harper's Magazine* for August, in which that experienced journalist says that no one at all acquainted with public opinion can fail to hear that confidence in the news daily printed is daily diminishing.

OPIUM.—The crusade against opium has met a serious reverse in the report of the Opium Commission, with only one dissenting vote, that opium is not seriously injurious to the people of India—a verdict that does not convince earnest reformers, but will convince many others and so give the opium curse a new lease of life.

PEACE.—The Napoleonic craze in American magazines this year and the appropriation of an unprecedented sum by the last Congress for iron-built ships do not indicate a rapid growth of peace sentiment, but the proposal for a treaty of perpetual arbitration between Great Britain and the United States, which has been indorsed by nearly the whole Parliament of

1895. the former country, is generally favored by our people and is likely to be adopted. It is an omen of good that during the warlike German celebrations of the victory of Metz in September of this year, the Social Democrats held counter demonstrations in behalf of international fraternity. The relations of Great Britain to both France and Turkey are strained, as are also those of Norway to Sweden and of Russia to Japan. The massacres of Christians in China and Armenia during this year, with like outrages upon Chinamen in our own country in former years, emphasize the need of a powerful Court of Nations, to deal with international affairs as effectively as our Supreme Court deals with interstate affairs.

PRISON REFORM.—The question of prison labor has been agitated in the legislatures of New York and Illinois with no satisfactory result. The former legislature has passed a cumulative sentence bill for police court "rounders," whose sentence is to be doubled for each new offense. Mr. D. L. Moody has undertaken to supply good reading to the prisons all over the United States, so far as possible, and is collecting money to be used for that purpose.

POLITICAL REFORMS.—The four men who are most commonly spoken of by the public as political "bosses," two in each of the two leading parties, have each won hard-fought victories over opponents in their own States The Proportional Representation League held what we take to be its first annual conference at Saratoga in August, and adopted a platform and plan suggested by Professor J. R. Commons and others. The writer submitted to the political conventions of several parties in New York State the following plank, which is given as first adopted by the Prohibition Party: "We accept as the expression of our political ideal the unanimous declaration of the Supreme Court that this is a Christian nation, and we call upon the people of the State to repudiate and consign to oblivion any political party that shall propose to submit a commandment of the decalogue to the local option of corrupt cities."

1895. SABBATH REFORM.—All across the land pastors speak of the bicycle and the trolley as the two chief perils to the Sabbath. In May a cycle parade of three thousand riders, including three hundred women, rode from Chicago to Evanston, passing scores of churches at the hours of morning church and Sabbath-school, which would not have been allowed even in Germany. A few Y. M. C. A. cyclists joined the run, for which, in accordance with the rules, they were excluded from Y. M. C. A. athletic contests for ninety days. There is encouragement in the failure of a movement to weaken the Pennsylvania Sabbath law and of the effort to legalize the Sunday saloons in New York State, and in their suppression instead; also in the action of the Congregationalist Home Missionary Society, which other churches might well copy, forbidding their missionaries to use Sunday trains. On July 7 the barbers of Illinois generally closed their shops, in accordance with a new law passed by their request. There is also a new law in New York State closing barber shops on Sundays, excepting in New York City and Saratoga. In Korea, although not yet a Christian country, on recommendation of the Prime Minister, who is a Christian, the government offices are closed from Saturday afternoon until Monday morning. The King of Korea does not hold court on Sunday. As against Sabbath reform the Sunday paper has, by a new form of bribery (its colored pictures) addressed to women and children, captured the patronage of many Christian families, which have sold out conscience for a chromo. Perhaps the greatest battle for the Sabbath ever fought is that of this year in New York State, namely, the proposal to submit the fourth commandment to the local option of corrupt cities. The most serious feature of the case is that good and sincere men, including Dr. Parkhurst and the editor of *The Outlook* and the constituents of the New York Good Government Clubs, favor it; while Mayor Strong and Mayor Schieren, both elected as reformers, and other politicians of the better sort are not only in favor of local option but in favor of legalizing the Sunday saloons. Yet other reformers, it is to be feared, will favor local option to open saloons on the Sabbath if coupled with local option to close them all the week. Some good men will fail to see that local option and home rule might as fitly be allowed to corrupt cities on the seventh and eighth commandment, on prostitution and gambling, on both of which it has already been asked,

1895. as on another part of the common law, whose corner-stone is the Decalogue. The Prohibition Party and the League of Republican Clubs both rejected this bogus local option in their State meetings early in September, and both resolved to stand by the American Sabbath, as did also the Republican State Convention.

TENEMENT-HOUSE REFORM.—Through the efforts of Mr. R. W. Gilder, editor of *The Century*, and a Commission of which he is the head, the New York Legislature passed what is no doubt the best set of tenement-house laws in the United States, which should be studied not only by legislators and reformers, but also by landlords who wish to make their tenements worthy of themselves and fit for their tenants.

ANTI-TOBACCO CRUSADE.—Whatever may be the case with other forms of tobacco, cigarettes are certainly encountering ever-increasing hostility. Both legislatures and city councils have this year passed numerous anti-cigarette laws in all parts of the land. Rules against spitting on floors and walks are also increasingly common.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.—Legislative bodies this year in all parts of the world have given unprecedented attention to woman suffrage. In most cases it was not successful, but received a larger vote than in previous years. But the advent of woman in politics in Colorado has not affected the temperance vote to any such extent as was expected; and in Ohio, where women voted this year for the first time in educational matters, only a few went to the polls—one-fifth in some places the writer investigated—which was due partly to rain, and more to lack of interest. Women as well as men need to be aroused to greater devotion to the public good. In that case they would be incapable of voting "unanimously," as the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association is reported to have done, at the instance of Susan B. Anthony on July 11, that as the men of Kansas had refused them the ballot, "it is the duty of every

1895. self-respecting woman in the State of Kansas to fold her hands and refuse to help any moral, religious, charitable reform or political association until the men of the State shall strike the adjective 'male' from the suffrage clause of the constitution." Whatever may be the case with other women, those who voted for that bulldozing boycott showed themselves unprepared for suffrage.

Of many things said this year of the "new woman" nothing has made a stronger impression on the public than the address on that theme of Mrs. Maud B. Booth. Let the new woman be educated and developed, said Mrs. Booth; let her study, work, preach, ride her wheel, swim, drive, and do anything which will perfect her so that she may be a power in the nation, but "by all means, let her not neglect her heart," let her not "forsake her womanliness." Her plan for the reformation of the new woman, Mrs. Booth stated thus: "I would make her change her dress the first thing. I would take her big sleeves and make them into dresses for the children of the slums. I am sure a good many little dresses could be made out of those sleeves. As for some of her other garments, which I will not mention here, I would take them away and give them to the sex to which they belong. The next thing I would do would be to collect the books that the new woman reads, books that any God-fearing, right-feeling woman would blush to have about her, disgusting treatises on realism and kindred topics. I would pile these books all up together and burn them, burn them along with her cigarettes and her chewing-gum. The next step would be to induce her to come to the Salvation Army meetings and learn what it was to get rid of herself, to help the poor, the sick, the lost, and the outcast, and forever abandon her vain self-seeking. Then, if that plan failed, I should get her a strong-willed, loving husband, that she might come to recognize that there is something great and strong and noble in the other sex."

MISCELLANEOUS.—A census of churches published by *The Independent* at the opening of this year showed the number of Christians, including Roman Catholics, at the last account, to be twenty-two millions. Evangelical Christians one to every 4½ of the population, as against one in 5 in 1880. Popula-

1895. tion of the country July 1 (calculated by percentage of growth shown by last census), seventy millions.

On the whole this review of the six months, though it does not justify the lazy hopefulness of the wilful optimist, does not, on the other hand, warrant the despair of the wilful pessimist. Considering how aggressive are the forces of evil, how passive are most of the good, how few are earnestly seeking to resist evil and promote righteousness, the gains are as encouraging as the losses ought to be arousing. The chief obstacles to more decisive victories are not appetite, lust, and greed in our foes, but the apathy, laziness, and cowardice in those who sing of themselves as "Christian soldiers." When they really learn to fight we shall have more ringing reports.

To the foregoing record of 1895, mostly given to things done, should be added the notable words said in behalf of court reforms by Mr. Justice Brewer of the United States Supreme Court at the annual meeting of the American Bar Association: "Shorten the time of process. Curtail the right of continuances. When once a case has been commenced, deny to every other court the right to interfere or take jurisdiction of any matter that can be brought by either party into the pending litigation. Limit the right of review. Terminate all review in one appellate court. Reverse the rule of decision in appellate courts, and instead of assuming that injury was done if error is shown, require the party complaining of a judgment or decree to show affirmatively, not merely that some error was committed in the trial court, but also that, if that error had not been committed, the result must necessarily have been different. In criminal cases there should be no appeal. I say it with reluctance, but the truth is that you can trust a jury to do justice to the accused with more safety than you can an appellate court to secure protection to the public by the speedy punishment of a criminal. To guard against any possible wrong to an accused a board of review and pardons might be created, with power to set aside a conviction or reduce the punishment, if on the full record it appears not that a technical error has been committed, but that the defendant is not guilty or has been excessively punished."

1896.

September 19.—Centennial of Washington's Farewell Address, last of Revolutionary Centennials.

1896, OCTOBER–DECEMBER.—CELEBRATION OF THE COMPLETION OF NINETEEN CHRISTIAN CENTURIES.

(*Appropriate for* 1896 *or* 1900–1901 A. D.)

All scholars are agreed that Christ was born a little more than five years before our era, that is, in 5 B. C. The day is not surely known, but the known death of Herod makes it certain that it was some time in the last quarter of that year. The last quarter of 1895 therefore brings us to the nineteen hundredth birthday of Christ in the strict use of the term. Colloquially we say when a child is one year old that is his first birthday. It is really his second. Counting Christ's first birthday, 1895 brings us to the nineteen hundredth birthday of Christ, worthy a whole quarter's celebration; still more the last quarter of 1896, when the twentieth century really begins.

First session, evening, Mass meeting under auspices of Union Preachers' meeting. Selections from oratorio of *The Messiah* by united choirs. Luke's story of the "Christmas Shepherds," recited by a girl; Matthew's story of the "Magi," recited by a boy. Addresses (fifteen minutes each): "How are Christian Churches Superior to Pagan Temples of Greece and Rome?" "How Superior to Heathen Temples of To-day?" "In What Respects are Christian Churches below Christ's Standard?" "By What Forces Can They Be Brought up to It?'

Second session, afternoon, Congress of societies of Christian women, such as W. C. T. U., King's Daughters, etc. Prelude of brief select readings. Addresses, "How are Women Better off in Christian Lands than in Ancient Pagan Lands?" "How Better off than in Heathen Lands of To-day?" "In What Respects are Christian Women Below Christ's Standard?" "By What Forces Can They be Brought up to It?"

Third session, evening, Mass meeting under the auspices of the lay officers of the churches. Addresses: "How is Business in Christian Lands Morally Better than it was in Ancient Pagan Lands?" "How Better than in Heathen Lands of To-day?" "How are the Business Customs of To-day Below Christ's Standard?" "By What Forces Can They be Brought up to It?"

Fourth session, afternoon at close of public schools, Convention of Christian boys' and girls' societies, such as Junior Y. M. C. A., Junior Endeavorers, Junior Epworth Leagues, Loyal Legions, etc. Each society to furnish one brief declamation, or solo, or chorus for introductory service. Addresses: "How are Boys and Girls in Christian Lands Better off than Boys and Girls in Ancient Pagan Lands?" "How Better off than Boys and Girls of the Heathen Lands To-day?" "How

do the Boys and Girls in Christian Lands Come Short of What Christ Would Have Them Be?" "By What Forces Can They be Lifted to His Standard?"

Fifth session, evening, Christian Citizenship rally of young peoples' societies, such as Y. M. C. A., Y. P. S. C. E., Epworth League, etc. Patriotic music, vocal and instrumental. Addresses: "How is the Politics of Christian Lands Superior to that of Ancient Pagan Lands?" "How Superior to that of Heathen Lands of To-day?" "How is the Politics of Christian Lands Inferior to Christ's Standard?" "By What Forces Can It Be Brought up to That Standard?" *

* The above topics and questions are the basis of a new series of lectures to be delivered by the author at Lafayette College and elsewhere, 1895–96, on Descriptive, Static, and Dynamic Sociology.

1897.

1898.

1899.

1900.

1900–1901.

PROPOSED CELEBRATION OF THE TRANSITION FROM THE NINETEENTH TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

My generally approved plan for the celebration of the completion of nineteen Christian centuries is, in brief, as follows: The celebration to be inaugurated on the last Thanksgiving Day in the nineteenth century in Boston, with a Jubilee of Civil Liberty in Faneuil Hall and elsewhere, the program to be arranged by the Boston ministers; followed next day by a trip by sea in a model of the *Mayflower* and other vessels to Plymouth, landing on Plymouth Rock; proceeding thence to New York City for a week of Christian reform congresses on temperance, Sabbath reform, purity, prison reform, etc.; then three hundred or more round-the-world tourists to start on their tour on special train, with stops for one-day celebrations in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, of "Self-Government, Suffrage, and Universal Peace"; in the Capitol at Washington, of "Christian National Institutions"; with brief local celebrations arranged by Christian ministers of the locality, in each case, in Pittsburg, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Omaha, Denver, Los Angeles, with a week's celebration of the last Christmas of the nineteenth century at San Francisco. On January 1, 1901, the round-the-world missionaries and Christian tourists to sail out from the Golden Gate into the Pacific, holding week of prayer services on shipboard; stopping for a day's celebration in Honolulu, to be arranged by Christian ministers and churches of that city; then brief meetings, with restful pleasures of travel interspersed, in Japan, China, India, Australia; the trip so scheduled as to bring the party to Jerusalem and Bethlehem for Palm Sunday, and to Nazareth for Easter, and to Athens for the later Greek Easter (Egypt and Constantinople intervening); then Rome before summer; followed during summer by Germany, Switzerland, Paris (then in midst of its next World's Fair), and then London. The great World Societies—the World's Sunday-school Association, the World's Y. M. C. A. and W. C. T. U., the World's Evangelical Alliance, the World's Endeavor Union would no doubt put in their conventions at dates and places to fit the itinerary in such centers as Jerusalem, Rome, Paris, and London—the tour to occupy six months, followed later, perhaps, by another like tour starting in the spring, when more can secure leave of absence. The special trains and boats would naturally be decorated with inscriptions such as: "The Year of Our Lord, 1901," "The Lord Reigneth, Let the Earth Rejoice," and so the triumphal march would be a world-encircling sermon. The special trains, and especially the boats, would afford opportunity for studies of the nineteen Christian centuries and of every country visited with special reference to its religious history, under inspiring leadership. Indeed, we suggest that in 1900 the C. L. S. C. make a review of the nineteen Christian centuries its chief topic, and in 1901 arrange a *Round-the-World Tour in Books*, that all

THE "MAYFLOWER."

who travel and all who stay at home may that year make the Chautauqua Circle a world circle, not confining it for those two all-embracing years to the usual quartet of Greek, Roman, English, and American history. It would be every way fitting, at least in the odd year 1900, to give its readers briefer studies of the less-important but surely not unimportant nations, and a concise review of the Christian centuries, which all will then wish to know about and celebrate. With all private commissions eliminated and wholesale arrangements made, it is expected that the cost of such a trip will not exceed $1000 for each tourist. Other international and national societies, it is hoped, will appoint committees to cooperate with Miss F. E. Willard, Lady Henry Somerset, and Mrs. W. F. Crafts, who are the World's W. C. T. U. committee, in making some definite plans for the tour. Another feature of the proposed celebration calling for immediate action is the passage in each State, so far as possible, of improved suffrage laws, to take effect January 1, 1901. Vice and ignorance should have due notice that no new voters will be made in the twentieth century out of illiterates, drunkards, and criminals. A national recognition of Christ in a constitutional preamble or amendment, which should also abolish sectarian appropriations and forbid all unions of Church and State, and an International Court of Peace and Arbitration, are other fitting celebrations to be secured in advance.

ROUND THE WORLD READING TOURS.

To those who have quickly traveled, in this book, down the centuries, from creation to our own day, we suggest also *reading by countries* for more extended and yet brief studies of the world's past and present. Each of the three courses outlined below can be taken in half-hour daily readings in the forty available weeks of a year, although more time is desirable, when available. If those using this plan of reading should unite in a literary society, and at the end of each of these courses of reading there should be an examination, with some certificate of merit, to which all were looking forward, it would add to the zest; and there would be still more interest in the course if, by the way, recitations, readings, and essays on the countries through which one was passing were given at the meetings of the circle or society, and photographs of the scenes under consideration were brought by the members. On each country and king, see references in Alphabetical Index of this book; also cyclopedias, book-list named below, and available libraries.

ROUND THE WORLD READING TOUR OF FORMER TIMES.

Journey in books from one nation to another, visiting each, as nearly as possible, at the period (see p. 358) of its world-empire, or age of greatest extent, and in an order made approximately chronological by adding connecting links of intervening history. This will constitute *a study of all countries and of the world* from the mountain-peaks of political history, and, with some zigzagging about the Mediterranean, may be followed as a round the world tour. Let these mountain-peaks of history be climbed, one after the other, for brief, comprehensive

outlooks. It will be helpful in each case to review the march by which the nation reached its highest altitude. It will be appropriate also to look around at the condition of other nations at each of these epochs by way of contrast, and also to read briefly of the nation's decline. Thus, with brief readings of connecting history, a complete view of the past will be obtained on a plan that can be made as exhilarating as real mountain climbing.

ROUND THE WORLD READING TOUR OF OUR OWN TIMES.

Read the recent history of each country in the order it would naturally be visited in a round the world tour, beginning in each case at the country in which the reader or associated readers reside. Both these plans can be worked, or a simpler plan than either, from my Round the World Book-list (twenty-five cents per dozen, National Bureau of Reforms, Washington, D. C.), which was used with profit and delight some time since by a young people's society in the author's New York church, in which case the division between the earlier and later history of each country studied in round the world order was not made. Three grades of books in size and price are given, one of them consisting of books both brief and cheap. Only one set of books was bought, with the idea that each week all the books on the country under consideration would be read, each by a different person, who would report in brief its contents at the general meeting of the readers. It would be better to have two or more copies of each of the books when funds permit. Some special point was emphasized in the meeting of each week or fortnight. For instance, for two weeks the members read books in regard to the political life of ancient and modern Italy, from Romulus to Garibaldi, one person being required to prepare a ten-minute sketch of its early *political history*, and another a longer essay of its recent unification ; while yet another, who had visited Italy, described, with the aid of pictures and costumes, the past and present *social life* of the people. A second fortnight was devoted to Italy's religious history, with short essays, and carefully prepared talks on the Waldenses, the Roman Catholics, and Savonarola ; each essay or talk being followed by general conversation on the same topic, to add whatever facts other members of the club had ascertained, and to draw out more fully the meaning of the essayist or leader, if any point had not been sufficiently explained. A third fortnight was spent in reading Italian literature and the biographies of Italian authors ; short essays being prepared by assignment on Cicero, Vergil, Seneca, Dante, Petrarch, and Tasso, and arranged on the program in chronological order. The last fortnight was devoted to the development of Italian art, with seven-minute sketches of its artists in chronological order, the subjects being illustrated by photographs and other copies of their purest masterpieces, not overlooking their historical errors in admiring their artistic excellence. These reading plans provide the two elements of enjoyable and profitable reading—namely, *unity and variety*. Historic fiction, biography, general history, poetry, even science, are included, but all unified by their relation to the one country under consideration, which each element helps to picture.

HON. CARROLL D. WRIGHT ON DIVORCE.*

WASHINGTON, March 13, 1895.

REV. WILBUR F. CRAFTS:

MY DEAR SIR: In further reply to yours of the 8th inst., and especially to that part of it which relates to an address I made on the divorce question in 1891, I am very glad to offer you my thoughts upon the subject, and particularly upon those points wherein you find you cannot be in agreement with me.

The use of the words "Mosaic law" at the point suggested by you was a slip. It should not have been so. It seems to me, however, that the term "ecclesiastical view" was correct, because the ecclesiastical view of divorce means, if I understand it aright, the idea that no divorce should ever take place except for adultery. I have studied this question of marriage and divorce a great deal, and I am perfectly free to say that I cannot join those who believe that divorce should be limited to the one scriptural cause—adultery. One of the chief reasons for this opinion is that such a limitation reduces the whole matter to a low physical plane.

I want also to assure you that I am not in favor of lax divorce laws, but just where the line should be drawn is the great difficulty. To give you some idea of my argument, which you refer to as after the middle of my 1891 speech, I will say that I believe that industrial independence and rational divorce will ultimately reduce to the minimum the number of unholy marriages, the unions for convenience, for support, for physical reasons only perhaps, and will also reduce the number of murders and suicides growing out of abhorrent marital relations. These two things will also give stability to marriages wherein the psychical as well as the physical grounds are properly blended; in which affection, and not mercenary motives, is the predominant cause of marriage. I want to see marriages take place, as a rule, only when affection, and not simply law, is to bind the parties.

Herbert Spencer has very grandly expressed the true sentiment in this respect of the change from the soulless law status to that of affection. "In primitive phases," he says, "while permanent monogamy was developing, union in the name of the law—that is, originally, the act of purchase—was accounted the essential part of the marriage, and union in the name of affection was not essential. In the present day, union in the name of the law is considered the most important, and union by affection as less important. A time will come when union by affection

* See discussion of Mr. Wright's views on pp. 66, 67.

will be considered the most important, and union in the name of the law the least important, and men will hold in reprobation those conjugal unions in which union by affection is dissolved." And Montaigne once wrote: "We have thought to make our marriage tie stronger by taking away all means of dissolving it; but the more we have tightened the constraint, so much the more have we relaxed and detracted from the bond of will and affection."

I believe in this line of thought, and that the purity of the family is more effectually secured by declaring that no sacredness exists when affection is destroyed than by holding men and women in hated bonds simply because a magic "Presto!" has been pronounced by a magistrate or by a minister.

Now, I am very well aware that one who wishes to agree with me in this position may not find himself able to do so, because he will think that the words of the Great Master stand in his way, and that the statements I have made are arguments against his command; and, furthermore, he may think that marriage is a sacrament which cannot be abrogated or annulled by human courts. I am willing to confront this position.

The Great Teacher had been preaching the new gospel along the shores of Galilee; he was followed by the multitudes from Galilee, from Decapolis, from Jerusalem, from Judea, and from beyond Jordan, and when in the mountain, and after he had given the world his wonderful sermon, the Pharisees, with their usual casuistry, undertook to draw from him some statement that would enable them to accuse him. To the interpretation of his sayings the skill of the grammarian, the lexicographer, and the expert exegetist has been brought to play a great part, yet with ever-dividing lines. His constant cry was that the kingdom of heaven was at hand, and he preached to inspire the people of his time and of the conditions that surrounded them. Let us concede for a moment that Matthew wrote down with exactness the words of Christ nearly thirty-two years after they were uttered, and that Mark remembered perfectly what his Great Teacher told him the Divine Master had said, and we have two crucial statements on which the whole ecclesiastical position rests: First, one which relates simply to remarriage under some condition; second, the command "What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." I can find no statement limiting divorce to one cause only, or really prohibiting it for any cause; and the fact that great exegetists disagree on these points as to what Christ did mean, and that some of the wisest come to the conclusion I have reached, make me contend that I am in no way expressing views out of harmony with the teachings of the Great Master; but if I

am, before I vacate them, I must be convinced that Jesus was considering modern judicial divorce, and not simply the arbitrary "putting away" of the wife, in accordance with the old custom, which had no law in it, and that under the great command, "What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder," all unions are of God's joining.

My own conception of the work of Christ, as it related to the affairs of the state, is that he formulated a grand moral and religious constitution, a code of principles embodying old and new precepts which we call the basis of the Christian religion, but that he did not attempt to legislate on the details of conditions for all time. So while the Church (I use the word in the broadest sense) is bound to preach the loftiest ideals for the State in its legislative capacity, the State must grapple with the problems it finds, and the complex conditions which surround them. These conditions grow more and more complex as civilization advances in its grand march toward social perfection; and one of the most complicated and vexing questions the State has to deal with is that of marriage and divorce, for it must ever keep in view, in dealing with it, the purity and the sacredness of the family. In doing this may not the State consider that the dismemberment of the family by its internal warfare has already been accomplished through God's plans as well as that the original union was made by him? Has not the State this right when it is undertaking to secure the happiness of the greatest number? Has not God put asunder what in some cases man in a blasphemous way has attributed to God as joining? If this view is correct, divorce is but the legal recognition of an already disrupted family. Man, through his statutes, may recognize what God has already put asunder, even if he may not put asunder what God hath joined together. The powers that be are ordained of God, and it is right that we should render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's. This is the highest conception of the State, and is a declaration I emphatically accept. Christ constantly taught obedience to the powers that be. The powers that be, then, must regulate the affairs of the State. The family tie is broken, the integrity of the so-called sacrament violated, the putting asunder accomplished. Can there be any sacredness left? A new status of the parties has been created, not by law, but by the evil that exists in one or both of the parties. Law simply recognizes and defines the new status by a decree called "divorce," so that the legal conditions of all men may be known.

In a religious and ideal State there can be no crime; in the actual State there is much crime, and the legislator must meet the conditions of society as he finds them. In heaven there is to be no marrying and

no giving in marriage ; in the actual life of the present, marriage, for various motives, holy and unholy, is the rule, and the legislator, even with the highest ideal of religion before him, and in his heart and mind even, must consider the actions of men as he finds them.

The various ecclesiastical views on divorce, based on the Master's words, are as conflicting as are the views of controversial theologians on the state of the soul after death. These views may be classified under five heads, as follows:

First. The Roman Catholic Church, High Church Episcopalians, and some others in other churches, deny the right of absolute divorce. Neither husband nor wife should be able to secure it even for the infidelity of the other.

Second. In English ecclesiastical as well as in English civil law the infidelity of the wife, only, is the ground of divorce. Many American Episcopalians also agree with this view.

Third. The Protestant Episcopal Church of America holds to the right of absolute divorce for the infidelity of either party, and this church, as well as the bodies referred to in the first and second classes, also holds to separation *a mensa et thoro* for sufficient cause. Congregationalists, Baptists, Unitarians, etc., have no authoritative legislative ecclesiastical bodies and therefore cannot be classed by their creedal utterances ; but probably most Congregationalists and nearly all Baptists hold to this position. A large, and, it may be, growing, number of Congregationalists and others tend toward a more liberal view even.

Fourth. The great Presbyterian body (except the United Presbyterians and perhaps the smaller divisions) and, if I am rightly informed, the Protestant Methodist Episcopal Church, allow divorce for infidelity, and desertion also, but rigidly draw the line at the latter.

Fifth. The Greek and Lutheran churches, and frequently individual writers and exegetical scholars, favor divorce for an indefinite number of causes.

From this it will be seen that in the churches themselves there is no common rule in the interpretation of the Scriptures or in understanding exactly what Christ meant ; and it is well known that many of the early reformers, Wyclif, Luther, Melanchthon, Erasmus, and other men not only of the highest virtue and purity of life and thought, but also deeply versed in the interpretation of Scripture, took the ground that divorce is not limited by the Scriptures, either old or new ; and Judge Edmund Bennett, dean of the law school of Boston University, a most devoted churchman, when speaking of marriage some time since before the Congregational ministers of Boston, said : "Upon this branch of the subject," that is, the ecclesiastical view of divorce, "is it too much to

conclude, . . that it is not so clear that Christ intended to say that no divorces should ever be granted by law except for a violation of the seventh commandment?" And he further said, and with great force: 'Why should a delicate and sensitive woman be forever bound to a man whose only delight is to heap indignity and cruelty upon her and her children, or to one who, by habitual profanity and outrageous conduct, makes her own life wretched, and the moral and right training of her children an impossibility? . . Shall a young and unsuspecting wife, whose false-hearted husband, the next day after their marriage, entirely abandons her and absconds to parts unknown, be condemned to live in that miscalled wedded state for the remainder of her natural life? And yet this very occurrence is constantly happening in the midst of us. True, even one act of infidelity, under whatever circumstances committed, is a sad enough occurrence in domestic life; but if really repented of, it may be condoned, and the remainder of the wife's married days be not unhappy; but to be constrained to live with some husbands for the rest of one's mortal life is nothing less than a constant living death. A modern David may be a more endurable companion than one who constantly violates every commandment except the seventh!" And these are the emphatic words of a distinguished scholar when discussing the ecclesiastical view of divorce.

Another distinguished scholar, Judge Hiram Sibley of Ohio, in an able address delivered at the Ecumenical Methodist Conference at Washington, in 1891, discussing this very question, whether or not divorce was allowed by the Master, came to this conclusion (I express it in very nearly his own words): "Infidelity, desertion, and other acts which, like the first, destroy the sexual purity of the relation, or, like the second, operate to deny to an innocent party and to society the substantial benefits of, and so what is essential in the right, to the relation, if its bonds be held indissoluble, are valid causes for annulling it."

If my position is against the strict scriptural view, I can congratulate myself on being in most excellent company; but when I recognize that the position of woman under the divorce question, from the ecclesiastical point of view, is made more intolerable by other laws from the Old and New Testaments, I cannot content myself with a simple protest. She has been kept in marital bondage by the alleged authority of God, and the traditional curse recorded in Genesis is the basis of other conditions. It is there recorded that God said: "Thy desire shall be unto thy husband, and he shall rule over thee." Could this have been the command of the Divine Father of the gentle Son of Mary, the true lover of woman, or was it the command of that other spirit that took the lowly Jesus up into the mountain and tempted him? I believe it was the latter, if the curse was ever uttered. Thousands of volumes of the

size of that in which the curse is found could not relate the misery it has brought to womankind, and when the utterances of Paul, which degraded woman and marriage, are added to the sentiment of Genesis, it is no wonder that the ecclesiastical position on divorce finds its stronghold only in the ranks of dogmatic theology.

I will accept the ecclesiastical ground taken from the Master's command, "What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder," if the proof is fairly clear that God and not man or the devil has made the union. The mere "Presto, change!" or "I pronounce you husband and wife," does not furnish the sufficient proof that it is of God. Nothing can be sacred that is not pure. The second ecclesiastical error is in the assumption that all marriages are sacramental, and hence sacred, while the fact is many are unholy, for under the "Presto" men violate every principle of marriage, outrage purity, and make a hell of what should be the sweetest relations; and to my mind it smacks of blasphemy to call the union of a beast and an angel, or of two beasts, a sacrament on the ground that God hath joined them together; for blasphemy is an injury offered to God by attributing to him that which is not agreeable to his nature. Marriage is a sacramental union when two hearts that beat as one come to the altar with pledges of life-long fidelity; when affection, true and kind, the acme of friendship, brings them there; when they come with serious and solemn acknowledgment of the true purpose of marriage and with gladness in their hearts. It is not a sacramental union when the one comes to the consecrated altar, and with the rankest perjury, taken under the guise of a God-ordained ceremony, sells her honor, her life, her body, her soul into life-long prostitution that is far more demoralizing than that in which one sells her honor alone, but not for life-long slavery; or the other comes to take a confiding, loving woman under his care when he has no affection, true and holy, to give in return. We say if one come to the table of the Lord's Supper to celebrate the sweet memorial of the religionists' belief with pure heart and pure life, it is a sacrament. If he come with depraved heart and lips that wish to taste the wine, there is no sacrament, but a desecration of holy ceremonies. Marriage is a sacrament when God hath joined together, and then no man *can* put asunder. True sacramental marriage, that which occurs when God hath joined together, takes place before the marriage ceremony, which is simply a law function, the declaration to the world for legal purposes, for the rights of children, of property. The law defines a God-made status; it does not make it. So divorce takes place when the devilish conduct of one of the parties abrogates the true marriage, and law then defines the status; it does not make it. The rights of persons, of children, of property, demand this of law.

When marriage is spoken of as a sacrament, it is presumed that moral marriage is intended. An immoral marriage cannot in any sense be sacramental. Granting that a moral, and therefore a proper marriage conforms to the law as announced by the Master does not justify immoral and improper marriage, nor the continuance of repugnant relations that offend public morality.

Genesis does not reveal the birth of geology, nor does sociology date from the Christian era. The phenomena of life and of society cover all time. The Great Teacher's constitutional work could not have been aimed at the infinite ramifications of conditions in detail which confront the legislators of successive ages. He adjusted his constitutional work to the times, the morality, the conditions, and the knowledge of his age. I cannot, therefore, believe that this position on divorce is contrary in spirit to the truest religious basis of society ; indeed, as I have more than once declared, I believe that in the adoption of the philosophy of the religion of Jesus Christ as a practical creed for the conduct of business lies the surest and speediest solution of those industrial and social difficulties which are exciting the minds of men to-day and leading many to think that the crisis of government is at hand.

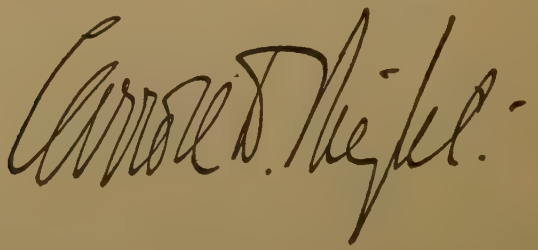
I have, perhaps, drawn this statement out to greater length than I should, but your letter so kindly invited it that I felt it my duty to write as fully as I have. You will not agree with me. For this I am truly sorry, but we cannot expect to agree on all points. My only hope is that if you find yourself in public controversy with me on this matter you will print at length what I have written above, so that I may not be misunderstood nor my arguments be unknown.

You see that I take the ground, broadly, that Christ laid down no law. He was dealing with another question than divorce. He took no ground against it, but did take the ground that marriage after divorcement, except for adultery, was adultery itself, and I believe that the reasons which I have given strongly back up my position.

Thanking you for your courtesy,

I am,

Sincerely yours,



[The last paragraph of Mr. Wright's letter shows that he does not really differ from "the ecclesiastical view" which he opposes. Not even Roman Catholics object to *legal separation* of those unhappily married, for which Mr. Wright's argument is really a plea, but they and most Protestants have always claimed, as Mr. Wright does, that "marriage after divorcement, except for adultery, was adultery itself." This view of Mr. Wright is also what the Churches generally consider to be Christ's view, as he does; and so the controversy seems to be of value chiefly as illustrating how persons may think they differ who really agree. As to that alleged "curse" in Genesis, it is on the face of it only a prophecy of what has most surely occurred, not foreordained, but only foreknown by God.]

NOTES ON PURITY.

A childless home is an anomaly. The parents in such case are to be commiserated more than the bereaved, unless such childlessness is their choice, in which case it is a crime against marriage and against society. Small families are intentionally so in some cases, no doubt, but it seems incredible that the same should be true of childless ones. As we ascend the scale of life, the age of marriage increases and the births decrease. In the professions marriage averages in England seven years later for men and four years later for women than among miners. The lower the station the earlier the marriage, as a rule, and the larger the family. So says Kidd's *Social Evolution*, 26. (On Malthus, *pro* and *con*, read Toynbee's *Lectures on the Industrial Revolution*, ch. x, xi; Andrews, *Wealth and Moral Law*, 121 ff.; Henry George, *Progress and Poverty*, bk. ii, ch. i; *Social Economist*, October, 1894.) The sorrow of the childless ought not to be aggravated by suspicion, but no condemnation can be too severe for the slaughter of the innocents unborn, which physicians tell us is constantly in progress in the interest of fashion's so-called "society" and of sensuality. (See "Well-springs and Feeders of Immorality," by B. O. Flower, *Arena*, December, 1894.) It is not the unmarried alone that need to learn self-mastery. But we believe that a majority of homes are undefiled by secret sin, glad gardens of parental and filial love.

Benjamin Kidd says (*Social Evolution*, 283): "France stands now, a solitary example among European peoples, with a population showing an actual tendency to decrease. . . The causes of the more recent decadence of the French nation are well known. . . On the average, out of every 1000 men over twenty years of age in the whole of France only 609 are married. Out of every 1000 families, as many as 640 have

only two children or under, and 200 of these families have no children at all."

The first word in sociology is not production but reproduction, the most godlike of human powers ; one so kindred to creatorship that nearly all heathen religions make it an object of worship, as in the Bible it is a subject of "honor," though by many Christians of to-day thought of only with shame. There is profound significance in Lamartine's trinity, the father, the mother, and the child—through whom society is ever recreated. Dr. Pomeroy notes that heredity repeats in the child not what the parents happen to be at the time of its birth so much as what they have been all their lives. Lady Henry Somerset (quoted *Literary Digest*, March 30, 1895) says: "Economic independence, social and political independence, are of vast import to women ; but there is a deeper lesson and a harder one to teach—the personal independence of woman ; and only when both man and woman have learned that the most sacred of all functions given to woman must be exercised by her free will alone, can children be born into the world who have in them the joyous desire to live ; who claim that sweetest privilege of childhood, the certainty that they can expand in the sunshine of the love which is their due. Whoever doubts this has only to study the laws of God written in the life of the animal world, and he will find that the whole creation in a natural state is founded on the principle of the mother's right to choose when she will become a mother. This is the chief corner-stone of that holy temple we are to build—our character."

Personal impurity, beyond its hygienic and moral peril to the individual, is a fundamental peril to society because it attacks the very foundations of the family. For a city to tolerate a traffic in it is to invite both physical and moral blood-poisoning of society itself. Expert reformers do not admit that there are any "necessary evils." Toronto, with a quarter of a million inhabitants, does not tolerate one known house of infamy, not one street-walker. The lame and impotent conclusion of some daily papers, reasoning on Dr. Parkhurst's exposures of blackmail in New York, is that the blackmailing should be stopped by repealing the laws against disorderly houses, as if bribery were worse than impurity, or either of them necessary. The following was quoted in *The Altruistic Review* for August, 1894, from *Harper's Magazine :*

"This is a proper time for serious men calmly to consider the question whether the sale of liquors in saloons on Sundays and the business of disorderly houses can really be suppressed in a large city like ours by merely making, and trying to enforce, laws against such things ; and if not, whether it will not be in the general interest to regulate, and by regulation mitigate and circumscribe, evils which in some measure will

continue to exist in spite of even the most conscientious and energetic exertion of legal force. This question should be studied and discussed from the point of view not of sentimental, but of practical morality, without levity on the one side and without cant on the other. Much may in this respect be learned from the various experiences of the great European capitals." "Much," indeed, may be learned from "European capitals," but only in the way of warning against repeating their mistakes in this matter. Professor C. R. Henderson (*Dependents, Defectives, Delinquents*, 253) says: "The 'regulation' of prostitution is not even a palliative remedy, but tends to destroy the moral feelings which promise a real cure. Under cover of 'legal regulation,' our 'Christian' States offer to lust hecatombs of corrupted girls, a more hideous example of human sacrifices than those of the heathen." (Apply with stamps to *The Philanthropist*, 39 Nassau Street, New York, for pamphlet by A. A. Powell, showing failures of State regulation of vice, and for other purity literature. The pamphlet referred to gives $65,000,000 as the annual money waste in New York brothels alone. Mrs. Ballington Booth of the Salvation Army, in *Christian Work*, January, 1895, gives 220,000 as the number of harlots "known and marked in the United States alone." And Dr. B. F. De Costa says: "For every fallen woman there are five fallen men.") The licensing of prostitution with medical supervision is, in effect, saying: "Behold here, under the protection of the law, under the supervision of your fathers and brothers as officials and physicians, are women—women who once were such as your mothers and sisters—groomed and guarded for your slaves; walk forth boldly into the market-place and buy, and fear not!"

Neither Toronto nor Pittsburg allows the sale of the corrupting police gazettes. It is amazing that fathers and mothers allow the streets of nearly all cities to be placarded with indecent theatrical pictures when the one bill-poster of the town could be taught decency by any determined citizen who would insist on his obedience to the law. It is not less strange that fathers tolerate and even patronize tobacconists whose windows insult their wives and daughters and tempt their sons. Boys of pure ambitions find it hard enough to hold the blooded steed of passion in check without having tradesmen urging it to madness with their pictorial whips at every block.

Josiah W. Leeds of Philadelphia has done some moral street-cleaning in this line that should be repeated elsewhere.

It is not sufficiently known by parents, and by youth who are nobly struggling for self-mastery, that tobacco and alcohol are both sexual irritants that make it as hard as possible to do right, and as easy as possible to do wrong. Both morals and health are attacked by such traffic.

Animal passion is also promoted in youth by the usual American excess of animal food. Many a bad boy "needs cow's milk more than a cow's hide."

Perhaps maidenhood may have too much of veils and chaperons in other lands, but in ours it certainly has too much liberty; for instance, in attendance, without guardians, upon evening picnics and concerts in parks, which often in such cases repeat the wickedness of the heathen "sacred groves." In one city, at least, an ordinance forbids girls without guardians to visit such places after dark. Liberty and Ignorance form a dangerous partnership. Girls are too much taught to yield to the wishes of others. They need also to be trained in the faculty of resistance. Instead of breaking their wills, let us strengthen them.

Not much can be publicly said on this theme, but whenever there is occasion, the condemnation should be swift and severe. It was a startling *reductio ad absurdum* of the theory that modern prophets ought not to interfere with politics, when a confessed adulterer, aspiring to reelection to Congress, on the preachers of his city condemning his course, "challenged the right of ministers to interfere in political affairs." It was more strange that some preachers, on like action being proposed in the Southern Presbyterian Assembly, objected that the body "should not take notice of matters political." But it was a sign of sound mind and conscience in the body politic that the effort of this adulterer to traffic in his evil notoriety by a lecture tour was a flat failure.

Though little can be publicly said on this theme, much ought to be privately *read*. It is useless to urge parents to talk frankly on these matters to their own children. They will not. It would be hardly an exaggeration to say, *they cannot*. But they should *see that what needs to be known is said to or read by their boys and girls*. (Send to American Purity Alliance, 39 Nassau Street, New York, for *A Private Letter to Girls*, by Grace H. Dodge, and to N. W. C. T., The Temple, Chicago, for *A Mother's Letter to Her Son*, by Mary Clement Leavitt, asking in both cases for full list of purity literature.) Doctors, the fittest persons to speak on these subjects by lectures and conversation, have not (noble exceptions aside) done their duty in fighting this secret plague. There are several fatal falsehoods commonly believed by the youth of both sexes that reputable doctors should hunt to death. Leading physicians of New York—Roosa, Smith, Keyes, Currier, Mendelson, Thomson—have signed the following statement, published in *The Philanthropist*, January, 1895: "In view of the widespread suffering, physical disease, deplorable hereditary results, and moral deterioration inseparable from unchaste living, the undersigned, members of the

medical profession of New York and vicinity, unite in declaring it as our opinion that chastity—a pure, continent life for both sexes—is consonant with the best conditions of physical, mental, and moral health."

There is no time when incontinence is even physically safe for either party. More appropriate than for any vial of deadly poison would the skull and cross-bones be as the label for the harlot's house of death. Not a few doctors, in their materialism, have abetted impurity, setting themselves against the divine law of continence. Only Christian doctors can safely be trusted with the bodies of our youth.

Something can be done by improved laws. Crimes against property are punished more severely than crimes against purity. "The age of consent" is infamously too low in nearly all our States.

There are signs that the scandalous "age of consent" laws of our States, as found in laws against rape—now that public attention has been drawn to them—will be improved speedily from very shame. Women suffragists cite them forcibly as showing the mistake of leaving legislation on such subjects wholly to men.

Kansas, Wyoming, Colorado, Missouri, New York, Nebraska, are the only States which have raised the law to 18, the age of majority. The other States are all below this only proper standard. The papers have made so many misreports of the ages in these other States that no one should rely on any information in regard to them except copies of the laws, as they may be seen in any large law library. Even Canada's age of consent is only 16. The author suggests that friends of purity secure everywhere a law as nearly up to the following as possible: Be it enacted, etc., That in prosecutions for rape, seduction, or other sexual congress out of wedlock, all of which is hereby declared a felony, to be punished by imprisonment at the discretion of the court, except in any case for which existing laws prescribe a more definite term of imprisonment or severer punishment, consent shall not be recognized as having any legal existence in palliation in the case of any minor.

Moses and the mob are right in saying the ravisher deserves capital punishment (which is the law in a number of our States); only the mob should say it as voters, not as lynchers. (Castration is also seriously proposed. See Henderson's *Dependents, Defectives, Delinquents*, 253: Warner's *American Charities*, 133–35; and Rev. Dr. H. L. Wayland in *Christianity Practically Applied*, 1: 455.)

Even more than law we need a public sentiment that will annihilate the "double standard," and brand "the male prostitute" as well as his partner in evil. *The Heavenly Twins* is a powerful protest against the double standard—a bride's repudiation of a husband whom she finds has come to her stained by a "fast life."

The question of "Morals vs. Art" (see Anthony Comstock's pamphlet of that title) is one which belongs here in the discussion of purity and the family. Artists have overawed some good men by their loud defense of nudes. We are asked to believe that an exact copy on canvas or in stone of some naked female model is the noblest, purest art, and suitable for exhibition to youth and age. Some of us have read of the regular annual orgies of Parisian artists with their models, orgies so indecent that even Paris police are compelled to interfere. There are some unsavory stories of even great artists and their models. Therefore we are not persuaded that the production of nudes has an ennobling influence even upon the artists themselves in all cases, although some Christian artists defend the use of models as a professional necessity, even though no nude pictures are to be made. *The Interior,* in a scholarly article suggested by the nudes at the World's Fair, showed (and Kidd's *Social Evolution*, 138, declares the same) that even in Greece nudes came in only with the decadence of art. They were certainly contemporaneous with the decadence of morals.

It is not sufficiently known that the fixed principle of British and American court procedure in regard to obscenity, whether in books or pictures, is that everything is to be condemned whose "*tendency* is to corrupt and deprave those whose minds are open to such immoral influences." The "*intent*" of the artist or author does not count, nor his fame, nor the fact that all would not be injured. "Look," says the judge to the jury, "at that picture, and say if it should come into the hands of your children, into the hands of your sons or your daughters; if the impressions it would be likely to create would be pure and moral ones, or whether they would be likely to create lewd, lascivious, and immoral ones."

It is greatly to be regretted that Christian young people are so seldom willing to study the moral influence of balls and theaters upon themselves and their associates in a judicial and impartial spirit, with a clear recognition that personal wishes and social customs are not in themselves conclusive arguments. Ministers cannot be suspected of opposing good times in the interest of gloom. No social party is merrier than one made up wholly or largely of ministers. Let young people ask themselves seriously: Why is it that these guardians of morals, who make no objection to tennis and croquet and cycling, and a hundred other recreations, have always been so nearly unanimous in their belief that the dance and theater are for many young people a menace to purity, and therefore ought to be avoided, even by those not thus imperiled themselves, for the general good? "It does not harm me," even if a true judgment is a very selfish test. Altruism says rather: "If all the world

follows my example, as some are sure to do, will there result more harm than good?" Let a young Christian, if in doubt, make original investigations as to how many successfully couple devotion and the dance, and attend the prayer-meeting and the theater with equal regularity.

As to the theater, I made careful investigation of the eight theaters of highest standing in New York City, when a pastor there, by reading the librettos of the plays, and found that the eight plays then on the boards were all pictures of impurity, to say nothing of the ballets; the so-called "best theater" having on its stage a soiled "lily," playing the part of a courtesan in a picture of seduction long drawn out; a play as unfit for pure men or women of any age as a visit to the mouth of the pit, which indeed it was. Shortly after, in *Harper's Weekly*, the theatrical manager, Mr. Harrigan, referring nonchalantly to the relation of the theater to morals, declared that the money a play would bring was the decisive point with managers, admitting that the foremost plays then in vogue, which he named, all centered in immoral intrigues. Because one celebrated play pictures pure home life, shall we support an institution which is the very citadel of the attack upon the family? An article on "Show-places in Paris" (*Harper's Monthly*, December, 1894) shows that French theaters are even worse than ours. The "living pictures" of the London theaters (consisting of women in glove-fitting, flesh-colored tights, in tableau attitudes), suppressed by the efforts of Lady Henry Somerset and others, were allowed to reappear in New York and other American cities at the very time the Lexow Committee were hunting down less public and so less corrupting nastiness. Each of the city papers commended the committee on one page and advertised the "pictures" on another. Some good people fear to fight "living pictures," and like theatrical indecency, for fear of increasing the evil by advertising it. But this cannot be a valid excuse when the thing attacked is illegal, and so can soon be put beyond all advertising benefits. In 1895 the theaters of the United States had become so impure and coarse that *The Outlook*, a defender of the theater, said (April 13, 1895): "As a friend of a true theater and of a drama which belongs to the arts, *The Outlook* urges all self-respecting people to stay at home until the managers introduce decency, variety, and a little art into the plays."

We cannot leave this subject without an earnest protest against the plague of erotic novels, sold freely on railroads managed by Christian men; sold without protest in the shops of respectable citizens, and allowed in Christian homes, although their very titles and covers are doors to hell. This and other literature that court records prove to be promotive of crime, are allowed to poison youth in open day. The

French Academy refuses persistently to admit Zola, but fathers and mothers admit him to their homes.

Dress reform, often treated by men, and women, too, as a jest, is a matter of serious importance, since it affects the health of mothers, and so of their children, and so the public health. The Chinese women, with bandaged feet, might well send hygienic missionaries to American women, who compress more vital organs at the dictates of fashion. When a woman gratuitously sweeps the street it might be treated as only an amusing instance of the follies of fashion, were it not that she is sweeping disease germs into her home. The low-cut dress, which some Christian women wear at the dictates of Paris actresses and *demi-monde*, promotes not only pneumonia, but also passion, and for both reasons is a social peril.

EASY LESSONS IN CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

PREPARED FOR THE USE OF MIXED SCHOOLS.

"This is life eternal, that they may know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent."—John xvii : 5.

[Copyright, 1890, by J. A. Quay, Morganza, Pa.]*

NOTICE.—The object of this little book is to present a short and plain explanation of doctrines common to all who profess belief in the gospel of Jesus Christ, leaving instruction in the doctrines peculiar to each denomination of Christians to be supplied by each authorized teacher of that church.

[EXTRACTS.]

Question.—What is the first thing man should know? Answer.—The first thing man should know is that there is a God, who rewards the good and punishes the wicked.

Q. Who is God? A. God is the creator of heaven and earth, and of all things.

Q. What is man? A. Man is a creature composed of body and soul, and made in the image and likeness of God.

Q. In what is man like to God? A. Chiefly in his soul; which is a spirit that can never die, capable of knowing and loving God.

Q. Say the Apostles' Creed. (Creed as usual.)

* A copy of this very interesting book (see history of it, pp. 94–96), with indorsements of it, can be had from the above address for 10 cts. postpaid.

Q. What means the Blessed Trinity? A. One God in three divine persons.

Q. Are they not, then, three Gods? A. No; the three persons are one and the same God, having but one and the same divine nature and substance.

Q. Why did the Son of God become man? A. The Son of God became man that he might redeem and save us.

Q. How did Christ redeem and save us? A. By his sufferings and death on the cross.

Q. Is the sin which we inherit from our first parents the only kind of sin? A. The sin which we inherit from our first parents is not the only kind of sin; there are other sins which are called actual sins, because they are acts of our own.

Q. What is actual sin? A. Actual sin is any thought, word, deed, or omission, contrary to the law of God.

Q. How long did Christ live on earth? A. Christ lived on earth about thirty-three years, and led a most holy life in poverty and sufferings.

Q. Why did Christ live so long on earth? A. Christ lived so long on earth to show us the way to heaven by his teachings and example.

Q. What is Holy Scripture? A. Holy Scripture is a collection of books, written by men inspired by the Holy Ghost, and acknowledged to be the written Word of God.

Q. Which is the best prayer? A. The Lord's Prayer, because Jesus Christ himself taught it.

Q. Why do we say "Our Father," when we say the Lord's Prayer? A. We say "Our Father," because God is the common Father of all; and therefore we should speak to him with child-like confidence, and love and pray for one another.

Q. To obtain eternal salvation is it enough to know what God teaches? A. No; we must also keep his commandments.

Q. Why are we bound to love God above all things? A. Because he is our Creator, our Redeemer, and our supreme happiness, for time and eternity.

Q. How are we to love our neighbor as ourselves? A. "As you would," says Christ, "that men should do to you, do you also to them."

Q. Who is our neighbor? A. All men are our neighbors; even those who injure us, or differ from us in religion.

Q. Where is our duty to God and our neighbor most fully stated? A. In the Ten Commandments.

Q. Who gave the Ten Commandments? A. God gave the Ten

Commandments, written on two tables of stone, to Moses, and Christ confirmed them in the New Law.

Q. Say the Ten Commandments. (Given as in Exodus xx, common version.)

Q. What are we commanded to do by the words: "I am the Lord thy God; thou shalt have no other gods before me"? A. We are commanded to know and serve the one true and living God, and adore but him alone.

Q. What is forbidden by the words: "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image"? A. By these words we are forbidden to make images and pictures of any kind, to adore and serve them, as the idolaters did.

Q. Is it lawful to pray to images and pictures? A. By no means; for they have neither life, nor sense, nor power to hear or help us.

Q. What is forbidden by the words: "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain"? A. These words forbid all profanation of the holy name of God.

Q. What are we commanded by the words: "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy"? A. We are commanded to keep holy the Lord's day.

Q. How is the Lord's day profaned? A. The Lord's day is profaned by unnecessary worldly business, dissipation, drinking, dancing, and whatever else tends to make it a day of revelry and scandal rather than of rest and prayer.

Q. What are we commanded by the words: "Honor thy father and thy mother"? A. We are commanded to love, honor, and obey our parents and superiors in all that is not sinful.

Q. What are we commanded by this commandment: "Thou shalt not kill"? A. We are commanded by this commandment to live in peace and union with our neighbor, to respect his rights, to seek his spiritual and bodily welfare, and to take proper care of our own life and health.

Q. What is forbidden by this commandment: "Thou shalt not commit adultery"? A. This commandment forbids all unchaste freedom with another's wife or husband; also all external acts of impurity, with ourselves or others, in looks, words, or actions, and everything that leads to impurity.

Q. What is forbidden by the commandment: "Thou shalt not steal"? A. All unjust taking or keeping what belongs to another.

Q. What else is forbidden by this commandment? A. All cheating in buying or selling; or any other injury done our neighbor in his property.

Q. What is commanded by this commandment? A. To pay our lawful debts and to give every one his own.

Q. What is forbidden by the commandment: "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor"? A. This commandment forbids all false testimonies, rash judgments, slanders, and lies.

Q. What do the words, "Thou shalt not covet anything that is thy neighbor's," forbid? A. They forbid all wilful, unjust desires of our neighbor's goods.

Q. Why does God forbid evil desires? A. Because it is sinful to desire what it is sinful to do; because sinful thoughts and desires lead to sinful actions.

Q. Is it necessary to keep every one of the Ten Commandments? A. Yes; if a man offend in one, the observance of the others will not save him.

Q. What does Christ say of the observance of the commandments? A. Christ says: "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments."

Q. Of what life does Christ speak? A. Of everlasting life in the kingdom of his glory, where the just shall see and enjoy God forever.

Q. What will Christ say to the good on the last day. A. "Come, ye blessed of My Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you."

Q. What shall Christ say to the wicked on the last day? A. "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which was prepared for the devil and his angels."

Q. What should we always bear in mind? A. That in the judgment Jesus Christ will render to every man according to his works; and that it profits a man nothing to gain the whole world, if he lose his soul.

(The conclusion of the second part of the book, which gives "A Short History of the Christian Religion," is as follows):

Q. What conclusion must we draw from this history of religion? A. We must conclude that the religion which unites man with God goes back to the beginning of the world. Since the fall of man the central figure of revealed religion has been one and the same, the Redeemer, the Messiah.

Whether expected, or already come, Jesus Christ is the foundation of religion; eternal salvation was never at any time possible, except through him. He alone can destroy sin and lead men to happiness.

Jesus Christ, as the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, existed before his incarnation and lives after his death on the cross. He speaks, he teaches, he commands, he forbids, he combats, and he triumphs. All men die and all the works of men pass away. The religion of Jesus Christ lives and abides forever.

[In view of what is said above of the "best prayer," which Roman Catholics joined with men of all religions in repeating at the World's Fair, it is a strange, but we fear a representative fact, that in the quiet village in which the author is spending a few summer days while proofing this book, the Lord's Prayer has been withdrawn from the public schools, this very year, 1895, on account of the objection of the local Roman Catholic priest to its use. This change was made without protest on the part of the citizens; indeed, was done without the knowledge of most of them. Let every reader of these lines investigate the status of his own town or city as to religious exercises in the schools, and the exact wording of the law on that subject; and ascertain also whether agnostic readers and doctored histories are used in the local schools.]

LETTER FROM PROFESSOR R. T. ELY ON SENDING THE UNEMPLOYED TO FARMS.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN,
MADISON, WIS., February 1, 1895.

DEAR MR. CRAFTS: I beg you to accept my thanks for articles which you have sent me from time to time. I have been much interested in them. There is one thing to which I would take exception. You speak about the impossibility of finding men in New York City to take places on farms at a time when there was great complaint on account of lack of employment. I have looked into this matter somewhat and think the statement, which has been frequently made, a misleading one. I think it unfortunate, as many people seek by such statements to evade their responsibility toward others. Of course, I know that you have no thoughts of the kind. I was brought up on a farm and know a good deal about the situation of the country. I do not know any place east of the Mississippi where it is not possible to secure farm laborers for quite small wages, provided one is able to give continuous employment. The one difficulty is in finding laborers during the harvest time and similar seasons when men are wanted only for a few days. The entire wages which one could earn during such a season would not be sufficient to defray transportation expenses to any point distant from New York City. In my old home in western New York, which I frequently visit, I find that now they have no difficulty in getting all the labor they want even in their busiest season, which is the grape-gathering season. We must further consider this: If artisans and mechanics in the city should leave the city to find temporary employment in the country, they might lose the chance of securing permanent employment of a kind for which

they are especially adapted. It seems to me it would be very foolish for city men not trained to farm work to go to the country. There is no real demand for such labor. There is much ground for the claim that there is already a relative over-supply of farm products. If a few farmers cannot instantly find the laborers they want, the newspapers write columns about it, and for obvious reasons the information is welcome to many. As I say, I know you do not wish to do anything to help people shake off that feeling of responsibility which they ought to have.

It is frequently said, to refer to an analogous case, that there is a dearth of servants. I have never yet been in a place where there were not plenty of servants, such as they were. There is, of course, a dearth of qualified servants.

Faithfully yours,

R. T. Ely.

LETTER FROM PRESIDENT E. B. ANDREWS ON THE DEFINITION OF ANARCHY.

Brown University,
Providence, R. I., January 21, 1895.

Rev. W. F. Crafts :

My Dear Sir : What I have said about "administration" under anarchism [in *Wealth and Moral Law*] cannot, I fear, be supported by proof tests. I have rather assumed it than deduced it from the anarchist treatises—assuming it as necessary to the working of *any social system whatever*, however far removed from the existing order. This seems to me a correct principle of criticism, according to Schaeffle's remark which I quote in *Wealth and Moral Law*, p. 101. It is, however, a clear implication of all that Krapotkin has written on the subject. See his various articles in the *Nineteenth Century* and elsewhere, and also in Benjamin W. Tucker's deliverances in his papers and lectures. The idea which I express in my lecture was impressed on me particularly by Tucker's exposition in a joint debate which I had with him and Bliss, the Christian Socialist, at a meeting of the Unitarian Congress in October, 1890. This debate was quite fully reprinted in the *Christian Register*, Boston, October 23, 1890.

I think your definitions as good as any so short ones on these themes could be, save that I should, for my part, leave out the word "violent" from the definition of anarchism. As I understand, Tucker, Yarrow, and Krapotkin do not advocate violence in doing away with the present order, and do not think it necessary. They believe that their system is

sure to come as the result of evolution. This was the notion also of my uncle, the late Stephen Pear Andrews. Of course the majority of anarchists, impatient at the slow march of evolution, wish to help it on, and, to do all the good they can, stock up with dynamite. But I really think that Tucker, at least, a very mild and kindly man, deprecates this.

I am glad that the Princeton students are to have the benefit of your studies.

Sincerely,

E. B. ANDREWS.

[See "Anarchism" in Alphabetical Index; also Flint's *Socialism*, 36, 37.]

CHICAGO STRIKE COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS, HON. CARROLL D. WRIGHT, CHAIRMAN.

I.

1. That there be a permanent United States strike commission of three members, with duties and powers of investigation and recommendation as to disputes between railroads and their employees similar to those vested in the Interstate Commerce Commission as to rates, etc.

a. That, as in the Interstate Commerce Act, power be given to the United States courts to compel railroads to obey the decisions of the commission, after summary hearing unattended by technicalities, and that no delays in obeying the decisions of the commission be allowed pending appeals.

b. That, whenever the parties to a controversy in a matter within the jurisdiction of the commission are one or more railroads upon one side and one or more national trades unions, incorporated under Chapter 567 of the United States Statutes of 1885–86, or under State statutes, upon the other, each side shall have the right to select a representative, who shall be appointed by the President to serve as a temporary member of the commission in hearing, adjusting, and determining that particular controversy.

(This provision would make it for the interest of labor organizations to incorporate under the law and to make the commission a practical board of conciliation. It would also tend to create confidence in the commission, and to give to that body in every hearing the benefit of practical knowledge of the situation on both sides.)

c. That, during the pendency of a proceeding before the commission inaugurated by national trades unions, or by an incorporation of employees, it shall not be lawful for the railroads to discharge employees

belonging thereto except for inefficiency, violation of law, or neglect of duty; nor for such unions or incorporation during such pendency to order, unite in, aid, or abet strikes or boycotts against the railroads complained of; nor, for a period of six months after a decision, for such railroads to discharge any such employees in whose places others shall be employed, except for the causes aforesaid; nor for any such employees, during a like period, to quit the service without giving thirty days' written notice of intention to do so, nor for any such union or incorporation to order, counsel, or advise otherwise.

2. That Chapter 567 of the United States Statutes of 1885–86 be amended so as to require national trades unions to provide in their articles of incorporation, and in their constitutions, rules, and by-laws, that a member shall cease to be such and forfeit all rights and privileges conferred on him by law as such by participating in or by instigating force or violence against persons or property during strikes or boycotts, or by seeking to prevent others from working through violence, threats, or intimidations; also, that members shall be no more personally liable for corporate acts than are stockholders in corporations.

3. The commission does not feel warranted, with the study it has been able to give to the subject, to recommend positively the establishment of a license system by which all the higher employees or others of railroads engaged in interstate commerce should be licensed after due and proper examination, but it would recommend, and most urgently, that this subject be carefully and fully considered by the proper committee of Congress. Many railroad employees and some railroad officials examined, and many others who have filed their suggestions in writing with the commission, are in favor of some such system. It involves too many complications, however, for the commission to decide upon the exact plan, if any, which should be adopted.

II.

1. The commission would suggest the consideration by the States of the adoption of some system of conciliation and arbitration like that, for instance, in use in the commonwealth of Massachusetts. That system might be reenforced by additional provisions giving the Board of Arbitration more power to investigate all strikes, whether requested so to do or not, and the question might be considered as to giving labor organizations a standing before the law, as heretofore suggested for national trade-unions.

2. Contracts requiring men to agree not to join labor organizations or to leave them, as conditions of employment, should be made illegal, as is already done in some of our States.

III.

1. The commission urges employers to recognize labor organizations; that such organizations be dealt with through representatives, with special reference to conciliation and arbitration when difficulties are threatened or arise. It is satisfied that employers should come in closer touch with labor and should recognize that, while the interests of labor and capital are not identical, they are reciprocal.

2. The commission is satisfied that if employers everywhere will endeavor to act in concert with labor; that if, when wages can be raised under economic conditions, they be raised voluntarily; and that if, when there are reductions, reasons be given for the reduction, much friction can be avoided. It is also satisfied that if employers will consider employees as thoroughly essential to industrial success as capital, and thus take labor into consultation at proper times, much of the severity of strikes can be tempered, and their number reduced.

ARBITRATION BILL.

A combination of bills prepared by Hon. Carroll D. Wright and Attorney-general Olney, passed the House of Representatives, February 26, 1895, but was not voted on by the Senate. Main features as given below:

1. It applies to all common carriers and the employees thereof, except masters of vessels and seamen, as defined in Section 4612, Revised Statutes.

2. Leased or rented property shall be considered as belonging to the carrier operating it.

3. All wages, rules, and regulations shall be reasonable and just, but contracts for stipulated wages can be made.

4. If a contention arises that threatens injury to a carrier, the chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Commissioner of Labor shall, upon the request of either party to the controversy, put themselves in communication with the parties to the controversy and shall use their best efforts by mediation and conciliation to amicably settle the same; and if such efforts shall be unsuccessful, shall at once endeavor to bring about an arbitration of the controversy.

5. If the controversy cannot be settled by the parties named in the foregoing, then a board of arbitration shall be chosen as follows: There shall be one man named by the labor organization to which the man belongs, or if there is more than one organization involved, then these organizations shall name a man to represent them jointly; the employer

to name one arbitrator, and if they cannot agree they shall name a third one within forty-eight hours. Failing to name this third man, the commissioners heretofore designated shall name him.

6. Pending the arbitration the existing status shall not be changed.

7. The award shall be filed in the clerk's office of the Circuit Court of the United States of the State wherein the employer carries on business, and shall be final and conclusive upon both parties, unless set aside for error of law apparent on record; the respective parties to the award shall each faithfully execute the same, and the same may be specifically enforced in equity so far as the powers of a court of equity permit, except that no employee shall be punished for his failure to comply with the award as for contempt of court.

8. During the pendency of arbitration it shall not be lawful for the employer to discharge the employees, except for inefficiency, violation of law, or neglect of duty; nor for the organization representing such employees to unite in, aid, or abet strikes or boycotts against such employer; nor for any such employees during a like period to quit the service of said employer without thirty days' written notice; nor for such organization representing such employees to order, counsel, or advise otherwise. Any violation of this section shall subject the offending party to liability for damages, which may be recovered in an action upon the case brought by any person or persons or corporation who shall have received or incurred any loss or damage by reason of such unlawful act.

9. Employees dissatisfied with the award shall not quit the service of the employers before the expiration of three months from and after making of such award, nor without giving thirty days' notice in writing of their intention so to quit. Nor shall the employer dissatisfied with such award dismiss any employee or employees on account of such dissatisfaction before the expiration of three months from and after the making of such award, nor without giving thirty days' notice in writing of his intention so to discharge.

10. The award shall continue in force as between the parties for one year after the same shall go into practical operation, and no new arbitration upon the same subject between the same employer and the same class of employees shall be had until the expiration of said one year.

11. When the award is filed in the Circuit Court of the United States judgment shall be entered thereon accordingly, at the expiration of thirty days from such filing. Permission to file exceptions on points of law is given. At the expiration of ten days from the decision of the Circuit Court upon exceptions, judgment shall be entered unless during ten days either party shall appeal to the Circuit Court of Appeals. The determination of the Circuit Court of Appeals shall be final.

12. After providing how complaints shall be filed and the arbitrators called, it provides that if individual employees complain no notice shall be taken, unless it can be shown that the award can be made binding on all the men of their class.

13. It is provided that all labor organizations incorporated shall stipulate in their articles, rules, by-laws, and regulations that a member shall cease to be such by participating in, or by instigating force or violence against persons or property during strikes, lockouts, or boycotts, or by seeking to prevent others from working, through violence, threats, or intimidation ; but members of such incorporations shall not be personally liable for the acts, debts, or obligations of the corporations, nor shall such corporations be liable for acts of the members and others in violation of the provisions of this section.

14. Whenever receivers appointed by Federal courts are in the possession and control of railroads, the employees upon such railroads shall have the right to be heard in such courts upon all questions affecting the terms and conditions of their employment, and no reduction of wages shall be made by such receivers without the authority of the court thereto after due notice to such employees.

15. It is stipulated that any employer who shall require employees to quit labor organizations, or make them agree not to join, or who shall in any way discriminate against an employee because he belongs to a labor organization, or who shall require employees to contribute to a charitable or other fund for the purpose of thereby releasing the employer from legal liability for personal injury, or, who having discharged an employee, shall attempt to prevent him from seeking employment elsewhere, is declared to be guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than one hundred dollars and not more than one thousand dollars.

[From *The Independent*, July 23, 1891.]

HOW WORKING MEN LIVE.

By Edward P. Clark.

What students of social science most desire is facts. There can be no intelligent discussion which is not based upon a solid foundation of knowledge. The most valuable possible contribution to the current debate regarding working men in this country, therefore, is an accurate and comprehensive statement of the conditions of thousands of the class. Such a compilation is presented in the *Eighth Annual Report of the Michigan Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics*, a volume of 451

pages, which is "chock-full" of facts and figures of the highest significance.

During the year 1890 the regular office employees of the bureau personally visited 201 shops and manufacturing establishments in twenty-five cities, towns, and villages, and put a long list of questions to no less than 8838 workmen, the greatest pains being taken to make every inquiry plain and to secure intelligent replies. As the bureau has been in existence several years, and the value of its previous work has come to be appreciated, there were but few cases where all the questions asked were not willingly answered, while the employers also extended every courtesy to the canvassers. The relations between employers and employed appear to be unusually harmonious in Michigan, and, with the exception of the carpenters' strike in Detroit, there were no serious labor troubles in the whole State during the year. All the conditions were thus most favorable to the prosecution of such an investigation.

The canvass was chiefly confined to the employees of the agricultural implement and iron-working industries, although a few other establishments were visited. These are among the oldest and most successful industries in the State, and the wages paid are, of course, much higher than in some other sorts; the canvass of Muskegon, for example, showing that the iron workers receive fully a half more in a year than the furniture makers and wood workers, who were questioned in 1889. These 8838 men, consequently, represent the best grades of the laboring class in Michigan. The report tells us just what we want to know about an army of such men—where they were born; how many are married, and the size of their families; what wages they receive, and how much of those wages they spend; how many own homes, and have their lives insured; what proportion own sewing-machines and musical instruments; how many take newspapers and magazines, and what sort they take; in short, how a good many thousands of working men's families live.

A little more than two-fifths of these men were born in other countries, those of American birth aggregating 5091 out of 8838. But the proportion who are really of American stock is less than these latter figures would indicate, inasmuch as many of the younger generation are the sons of parents who were born in other countries. An inquiry into parentage showed that a little more than two-fifths of the American-born had foreign parents. Altogether, those who were themselves born in other lands and those whose parents were foreigners make almost exactly two-thirds of the whole number. The Germans lead in both classes, numbering 1764 of the 3747 foreigners and 927 of the 2144 born of foreign parents. There are fewer natives of Ireland than one would

expect—only 277 ; but of the second generation there are 528. Michigan naturally draws a good many Canadians across the line, natives of the Dominion numbering 694, and sons of Canadians 162. The Germans are most evenly distributed throughout the State. Some of the minor nationalities are scarcely found, except as colonies in one or two places ; 141 of the 157 Polanders living in Detroit, and two-thirds of the 221 Hollanders in Grand Rapids and Kalamazoo, while Grand Rapids has also 28 of the 41 Swedes.

Of the whole number, 4889 are married, and 195 more have been married and are now widowers. The proportion of husbands among the adults, however, is decidedly larger than these figures indicate, as the canvass reached many hundreds of boys who were in their teens, nearly one-seventh of the employees being under nineteen. There will be general surprise at the small number of children reported, 5186 families having only 11,161. There were no less than 951 married men without children, and in families which have children the average does not quite reach three apiece. Sixty-nine per cent. of the children of school age attend school ; this evidently meaning not that thirty-one per cent. fail to attend school at all, but that sixty-nine per cent. of the whole number between the ages within which one may go to school do so. The public schools get a trifle more than four-fifths of all who attend any school, although in Detroit the parochial schools secure two-fifths of the children. A State law prohibits the employment of children under ten years of age, and only twenty-one cases were reported of boys at work under fourteen. Such boys, by the way, are prohibited from working more than nine hours a day, and must attend school four months in the year.

The figures regarding wages are full of interest. One man earns $40 a week ; eight, $30 to $40, and 125, $20 to $30, while at the other end of the scale are a dozen boys at $2 apiece, and 322 others who do not receive over $3 a week. Only a trifle more than fifteen per cent. receive $15 or over, while more than seventeen per cent. are paid less than $7. The largest class at any single rate is 1048 at $12. The average for all 8838, married and single, boys and men, was $10.06 per week ; but for the married men it rose to $11.50. This is for the time they were actually at work, the losses from various causes (chiefly inability to get work) cutting down the average number of weeks that wages were earned to a trifle less than forty-six. The average amount received during the year in the shape of wages was $467, but for the men supporting families it rose to about $525. Some places go far above this, 143 men employed in the iron-working trades in Muskegon earning average wages of $653 a year.

To many persons $525 a year will seem a rather small sum upon which

to support a good-sized family, but the report shows that it is sufficient to insure a comfortable home in thousands of cases. No less than 2328 employees own the houses in which they live, nearly half of them free from incumbrance of any sort. As almost all of these house-owners are married men, it appears that 46 per cent. of such men are rearing families in their own homes. The Germans lead in this respect, 37 per cent. of all employees of that race owning their homes, with the Hollanders close behind at 35, and the Irish third on the list with 33. The Poles who reach Michigan apparently mean to stay there, for although they bring less money with them than any other race and earn the lowest average wages, 28 per cent. of them live in houses which they have paid for in whole or in part—a proportion nearly as large as among the Scotchmen, who come to this country much more "forehanded," and are so much more efficient workmen that they earn $576 a year against the Pole's $368. Of course the Pole's house is a much cheaper one than the Scotchman's, the average value of the first class being $956 and of the second $2025. The average value of the homes of all races is $1312. Those who own homes which are fully paid for have reached the average age of forty-one, while those whose houses are mortgaged average thirty-six years. That there is much comfort in these homes appears from such facts as that sixty-nine per cent. of those who support families own sewing-machines; that sixty-seven per cent. of all employees take newspapers and magazines (a daily paper in quite half of the cases); and that more than one-fifth own a musical instrument of some sort, the list including 709 family organs and 314 pianos.

Forty per cent. of the whole number saved something during the year. There were 1390 who made payments and improvements upon their homes to the amount of $175,470, and 2477 who saved $329,880 in money—the latter class, it is interesting to note, included 264 of the former. Nearly one-quarter of the whole number carry life insurance, and the percentage is, of course, much larger among the married men. Indeed, in Battle Creek a canvass of 793 men, 564 of whom were married and 25 widowers, showed that 408 had their lives insured. The average amount of insurance carried falls a trifle short of $1500. The thrifty Scotch take most kindly to this form of provision against the future, thirty-six per cent. of them having their lives insured; the English coming next with thirty-three per cent., and the Irish not much behind with thirty per cent., while their average amount exceeds both the English and Scotch. One-fourth of all the employees belong to benefit societies, which pay an average amount of $6.41 a week in case of sickness.

This volume shows conclusively that it is economy and thrift, far more than a large income, which settles the question whether a working

man shall "get on in the world." There are hundreds of cases where men born in foreign lands and receiving by no means large wages, are rearing families and saving enough money to own their homes by the time they reach middle life. Here are a dozen fair samples—every one foreign born, and half of them earning less than the average wages of married men as a class:

Born in Poland, by trade a molder, working in Detroit, thirty-three years old, married, supporting two children; annual earnings, $576, family expenses, $435, owning a $1000 house half paid for; is worth $800.

Polander, laborer, Detroit, thirty-nine, married, five children; earnings, $390; expenses, $300; owning $800 house with $300 mortgage; is worth $700.

Polander, machinist, Grand Rapids, thirty, married, four children; earnings, $780; expenses, $600; owning $1800 house, half paid for; is worth $3000.

Russian, machinist, Grand Rapids, forty, married, five children; earnings, $780; expenses, $690; owning $2300 house with $350 mortgage; life insured for $1500; is worth $3100.

Hollander, teamster, Kalamazoo, forty-five, married, two children; earnings, $408; expenses, $383; owning $1100 house unincumbered; is worth $1200.

Irishman, laborer, Detroit, thirty, married, three children; earnings, $432; expenses, $325; owning $1250 house with $900 mortgage; is worth $600.

Irishman, laborer, Battle Creek, fifty-three, married, one child; earnings, $459; expenses, $284; owning $2000 house, unincumbered; is worth $2560.

Swiss, carpenter, Jackson, twenty-seven years old, married, four children; earnings, $661; expenses, $550; owning $1400 house, with $100 due upon it; life insured for $600; is worth $1600.

Swede, machinist, Grand Haven, forty-nine, married, one child; earnings, $546; expenses, $500; owning $800 house, unincumbered; is worth $1000.

Austrian, blacksmith, Grand Rapids, thirty-three, married, two children; earnings, $360; expenses, $360; owning $800 house, unincumbered; is worth $1000.

German, pattern maker, Muskegon, thirty-four, married, two children; earnings, $864; expenses, $700; owning $1500 house, unincumbered; life insured for $2000; is worth $2500.

German, mounter, Dowagiac, forty-eight, married, two children; earnings, $525; expenses, $457; owning $1000 house, with $200 mortgage; life insured for $4100; is worth $1800,

PLEBISCITE ON CURRENT REFORMS.

THE following ballot is intended, first of all, to enumerate and define current reforms ; and, second, to afford a means by which to ascertain which of them are ripe in public sentiment, and which are yet in the green. The figures after "Yes," "No," and "?" have been added to the ballot to show the representative vote of fifty senior students of Oberlin in 1890—some of them young men, the others young ladies. Where no vote is indicated the question has been added since. Those who believe that the best prophecy of the future is the unforced opinion of young men and young ladies, will value the result as a guideboard showing what roads our educated Christian young people are taking.* The ballot would be especially valuable for political papers to use in ascertaining what planks found in the platforms of reform organizations are seasoned enough to be built into political platforms. Free permission is granted to any periodical to use the ballot, due credit being given, and a marked copy being forwarded to the author's address, to which it is hoped reports of ballots taken by colleges and other bodies will also be sent, to be published later.

Each reader will please indicate his vote by penciling a circle around "Yes" or "No" after each question. If one favors a stronger measure, add + after "Yes"; if a weaker —, or modify by erasure or additional words. If undecided put the circle about the "?"

DO YOU FAVOR—

I. FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE FAMILY.

1. A law or ordinance forbidding children under sixteen to be on the streets, except in the company of adult guardians, after nine o'clock at night—a curfew bell giving due warning? Yes 20, or No 10, or ? 20.

2. The enactment and enforcement of such laws as will prevent bill-posters, tobacconists, newsdealers, and others from displaying pictures whose tendency is to arouse lust in our youth? Yes 47, or No 0, or ? 3.

3. The enforcement of laws (as in Toronto and Pittsburg) forbidding the sale of police gazettes that describe and picture vice and crime, and such additional legislation as may be necessary to suppress all similar literature, or at least to make the selling of it to youth a crime? Yes or No, or ?

4. Correcting by agitation "the double standard" in society, and requiring the same purity of word and deed in any one who would be counted a gentleman as in one who would be treated as a lady? Yes 48, or No 1, or ? 1.

5. Raising the "age of consent" everywhere by law to at least twenty-one years? Yes 36, or No 8, or ? 6.

6. Capital punishment for rape? Yes or No, or ?

7. Preventing both the direct and indirect licensing of prostitution? Yes 47, or No 2, or ? 1.

8. A uniform national marriage and divorce law in the National Constitution to prevent polygamy and restrain divorce? Yes 45, or No 0, or ? 5.

9. In place of above law or pending its enactment, such improvements of existing marriage laws by State commissions or otherwise, that divorce with permission to marry again can be granted (as is the law in New York State alone) only for the one cause of adultery, and only to the innocent party? Yes 34, or No 12, or ? 4.

10. Laws forbidding public attacks upon marriage and public incitements to crime, either in the press or on the platform? Yes 40, or No 3, or ? 7.

11. A penalty ($4,000 in France) for publishing the revolting details of a divorce trial? Yes 39, or No 3, or ? 8.

12. Laws (as in England) forbidding night work by messenger boys? Yes or No, or ?

13. Laws forbidding night work by minors and by all women, except in care of the sick? Yes or No, or ?

14. Laws requiring seats for female clerks in stores? Yes or No, or ?

15. Legal restriction of the wage-work of women and children at least, to eight hours per day? Yes or No, or ?

16. Forbidding insurance of children, lest it lead to neglect or something worse? Yes or No, or ?

17. Tenement house reform by compulsory thinning out and cleaning out by health authorities wherever needed? Yes or No, or ?

18. Dress reform? Yes 44, or No 2, or ? 4.

19. Dress reform for women to the extent at least of (1) abolishing the décolétte style for the shoulders; (2) adopting dresses that clear the ground for the streets; (3) avoiding all compression of the waist? Yes or No, or ?

20. Voluntary funeral reform, to the extent of (1) more economy and less display even by those who can afford both, for the sake of the poor, if not for the sake of good taste; (2) no Sunday funerals except in rare instances of real "necessity and mercy"? Yes 20, or No 10 or ? 20.

II. From the Standpoint of the Schools.

21. Compulsory education for the whole school year for children up to fourteen years of age at least, with additional compulsory education for at least two years more for a part of the time in evening schools or otherwise? Yes or No, or ?

22. Maintaining the American common school substantially on the present plan, with no division of the school fund for sectarian uses, and the Bible read without comment, but not without expression, in the opening exercises? Yes 49, or No 0, or ? 1.

23. Additional unsectarian teaching of Christian morality? Yes or No, or ?

24. The teaching of hygiene in all public schools, with special reference to the influence of alcohol? Yes 49, or No 0, or ? 1.

25. Flying a national flag over or in every school when in session as a means of promoting patriotism? Yes or No, or ?

26. The teaching of at least the elements of civics in public schools as a preparation for citizenship? Yes or No, or ?

27. The required reading in all public schools, shortly after each adjournment of the Legislature, of an officially prepared summary in popular language of the general laws of the State? Yes or No, or ?

28. Elementary manual education in public schools, enough to dignify labor and qualify boys and girls to do simple mechanical work for themselves, or to start in trades at an advantage? Yes 41 or No 4, or ? 5.

29. Much attention in public schools to the art of expression by voice and pen, since ours is a "Government by talking," which makes readiness of expression an important element of good citizenship in all occupations? Yes 45, or No 2, or ? 3.

30. Maintaining Normal schools at State expense as heretofore? Yes 39, or No 4, or ? 7.

31. State universities also? Yes 41, or No 4, or ? 5.

32. Opening colleges to both sexes? Yes 45, or No 3, or ? 2.

33. Limitation of college athletics, in term time, by college law to the grounds of the college to which the athletics in each case belong? Yes or No, or ?

34. Forbidding by college law, or by civil law, or by the football associations, of such plays in football as have often caused fatalities? Yes or No, or ?

35. The punishment of hazing by civil rather than college law? Yes or No, or ?

36. The rejection, by action of school boards or other powers, of the proposal to introduce military drills in public schools? Yes or No, or ?

III. From the Standpoint of Business.

37. "Early closing" of places of trade? Yes 41, or No 1, or? 8.

38. Saturday half holidays for at least the summer months? Yes 44, or No 0, or? 6.

39. Wages for women equal to those of men for the same quantity and quality of work? Yes 31, or No 6, or? 13.

40. Laws requiring both steam and street railroad companies to supply safety appliances, such as steam heat in place of stoves on trains and the best of fenders on street cars? Yes or No, or ?

41. Compulsory arbitration of labor troubles in the case of public corporations enjoying public protection and special privileges, and essential in their working to the healthy industrial life of the community? Yes or No, or ?

42. The people's ownership or directorship of all railroads? Yes 8, No 25? 17.

43. Government management of the telegraph as a part of the postal system; and also of the express business by a cheaper parcel post; and postal savings banks? Yes 33, or No 4, or ? 13.

44. Telephone also?

45. City ownership and management of gas works and water works? Yes 38, or No 3, or ? 9.

46. Of electric lighting? Yes or No, or ?

47. Of street car lines? Yes or No, or ?

48. City referendum on the granting of public franchises? Yes or No, or ?

49. Bellamy's nationalization of trade in its chief features? Yes 2, or No 38, or ? 10.

50. As a remedy for trusts, the giving to the Interstate Commerce Commission, or some other, power to compel *fair trade by free trade*, that is, by proclaiming to all lands temporary free trade in any article whose producers have combined to force up the price? Yes 24, or No 7, or ? 19.

51. The eight-hour day for mechanics, but as a child of Reason, not of Violence? Yes 37, or No 3, or ? 10.

52. Compulsory insurance for wage earners (as in Germany)? Yes or No, or ?

53. Legal protection of owners of real estate against the destruction of property values by the building of public stables or tenement houses in residential districts of cities and from blackmailing by threats of such building—the location of such structures being forbidden except on permission of property owners within certain radius? Yes or No, or ?

54. One or more public weigher in every city by whom loads of coal and wood must be weighed and certified, and by whom all smaller purchases shall be tested as to weight and measure on request? Yes 38, or No 4, or ? 8.

55. Public farms separate from those to which criminals and willful vagrants are sent for kindly confinement of adult incapables? Yes 40, or No 3, or ? 7.

56. Government farms, other than those used for the confinement of criminals, vagrants and incapables, where habitual wage-earners, temporarily out of work, may, without loss of self-respect, earn a scanty support, payable in rations, not in money, on such a plan as to expedite their return, as soon as possible, to private employment? Yes or No, or?

57. Leading features of the Charity organization movement, namely, that pauperism should not be fostered by giving to unknown beggars on the streets or at the door, or to repeaters who secure aid from several societies by concealment for lack of a common bureau; and that

even applicants for aid who are found to be worthy should be helped to help themselves rather than helped to become helpless? Yes 50, or No 0, or ? 0.

58. Leading features of prison reform, namely, making prisons "*reformatories*," and aiding discharged convicts into honest industry? Yes 50, or No 0, or ? 0.

IV. From the Standpoint of Christian Morality.

59. An amendment to the National Constitution forbidding all sectarian appropriations? Yes or No, or ?

60. An amendment to the Constitution forbidding any *State* to unite Church and State as Congress only is now forbidden to do? Yes or No or ?

61. Cancelling the exemption of church property from taxation? Yes or No, or ?

62. Putting the name of God at least into the National Constitution by adopting the phraseology in which the Declaration of Independence appeals to the God of nations, or by some like expression of the same as a preamble, in order to place the religious elements of Government, the Bible in the schools, chaplaincies, Thanksgiving Proclamations and the like, upon a more unquestionable constitutional basis? Yes 24, or No 7, or ? 19.

63. Acknowledging the Kingship of Christ in place of or in addition to the above, by incorporating in the preamble the recent unanimous opinion of the Supreme Court, "This is a Christian nation," or words to that effect? Yes or No, or ?

64. The quiet American civil Sabbath, rather than the Continental Sunday of open saloons, theatres and race tracks? Yes 50, or No 0, or ? 0.

65. Sabbath Rest secured by law to postmen, railroad men, telegraphers, barbers, newsdealers, tobacconists, confectioners and provision dealers, as well as to other toilers? Yes 46, or No 0, or ? 4.

66. A Sabbath Law for the Capital of our country that shall give its residents as complete protection against needless work and noise and dissipation on that day as is enjoyed by the most favored of the States? Yes 49, or No, or ? 1.

67. The "Sunday closing" of museums and art galleries? Yes or No, or ?

68. At least a half Sabbath and half a week day per week guaranteed by special law to street car employees? Yes 48, or No 0, or ? 2.

69 Entire suspension of Sunday work on street car lines? Yes or No, or ?

70. Voluntary Sabbath closing of drug stores, save an hour or two early and late in the day, except for emergency calls? Yes 29, or No 10, or ? 11.

71. Suppression, by church discipline, if necessary, of Sunday trains for camp meetings, church dedications and the like, so far as they are run at the request or by the permission of churches or church-members? Yes 40, or No 5, or ? 5.

72. Suppression by enforced law of the noisy huckstering of Sunday newspapers? Yes 47, or No 1, or ? 2.

73. A National law authorizing the Labor Bureau (the Senate so voted in 1894), with sufficient appropriation provided, to gather official and impartial statistics concerning the alcoholic liquor traffic? Yes or No, or?

74. Removal of all screens that hide the interior of saloons and so conceal violations of law? Yes 40, or No 5, or ? 5.

75. Forbidding the sale of liquor and tobacco to minors, also forbidding them to enter places where liquor is sold? Yes 48, or No 0, or ? 2.

76. Restricting saloons to the extent at least of forbidding the opening of more than one to each 500 of the population? Yes 41, or No 5, or ? 4.

77. The permanent closing of all "saloons" at least, that is, closing all places where drinkers loaf and treat and hatch crimes and treasons; all places where liquors are sold to be drunk on the premises, except with meals at *bona fide* eating houses? Yes 48, or No 1, or ? 1.

78. Compulsory commitment of drunkards to inebriate asylums? Yes or No, or?

79. Suppression of the "canteens" where National soldiers are required to sell liquors to each other under National law? Yes or No, or?

80. Removing internal revenue tax on liquors to separate government from a partnership in the liquor business? Yes 16, or No 23, or ? 11.

81. An amendment to the Federal Constitution prohibiting the importation, manufacture and sale of all intoxicating drinks? Yes 41, or No 2, or ? 7.

82. Interstate Commerce legislation to prevent interference with State rights and nullification of State legislation by the sending in of liquors from license States into prohibition States? Yes 47, or No 2, or ? 1.

83. Total abstinence rather than "moderation" as the right attitude of the individual toward the drinking usages of society? Yes 48, or No 1, or ? 1.

84. Some form of prohibition, rather than any form of license, as the right attitude of government toward the liquor traffic? Yes 36, or No 8, or ? 6.

85. Some form of prohibition, rather than any form of State conduct, of the liquor traffic (such as the Dispensary system of South Carolina, the Gothenburg plan, etc.)? Yes or No, or?

86. Forbidding the sale of alcoholics by druggists except pure alcohol scientifically used in making up physicians' prescriptions? (The only form, in the opinion of Dr. Benjamin Ward Richardson, in which it can be properly used as a medicine.) Yes or No, or?

87. Forbidding race-track gambling all the year, inside as well as outside the tracks? Yes or No, or?

88. Closing the mails by law of Congress to all lottery advertisements, whether in circulars or newspapers (this has been done, but needs to be maintained), and the withdrawal of charters from all National banks that are the accomplices, that is, guarantee payments, of such companies? Yes 43, or No 2, or ? 5.

89. Forbidding interstate commerce by express companies or otherwise in the interest of lotteries? Yes or No, or?

90. State laws making the advertising of a lottery or any other participation in any gambling scheme a crime, with severe penalties? Yes 44, or No 1, or? 5.

91. Amendment of laws against gambling, so far as necessary, to include paid guessing and voting when used with the purpose of getting something for nothing from all except those who receive the financial benefits? Yes 41, or No 2, or? 7.

92 Stringent laws to prevent the sale of opium, except on written prescription of an authorized physician? Yes 50, or No 0, or? 0.

93. The recognition of moral reforms as essential parts of Christianity in the curriculum of theological seminaries and other Christian schools, and in the examination of candidates for the ministry and membership of the churches, and in the official schedules of benevolence? Yes or No, or?

94. Having the churches, as such, both separately and in unison, take a more active part in reforms than is usual, by protesting against bad laws whenever proposed, and promoting the enactment and enforcement of good ones? Yes 44, or No 2, or? 4.

95. Newspaper reform by means of a syndicate of philanthropists who shall endow and control as "The People's University," a group of newspapers in leading cities which shall not be inferior to any in ability, and shall not be hostile or indifferent to reforms or religion, nor wholly controlled by financial considerations, and in which editors shall say nothing in refined homes by their types that their editors would not dare to say there by their lips—papers that will faithfully give all the important news correctly, concisely, cleanly? Yes 32, or No 7, or? 11.

V. From the Standpoint of Politics.

96. The Cleveland plan for primary nominations without primaries, through the publication of the names of candidates for nomination in the papers and votes for their nomination (not election) at public ballot boxes at the voters' convenience? Yes or No, or?

97. In place of or supplemental to the above, a law that neither nominations nor elections shall ever take place in a building in which liquors are sold? Yes or No, or?

98. Impartial naturalization laws, that will not exclude Indians, Japanese and Chinese from citizenship except on conditions applying equally to Hungarians, Poles and Italians? Yes or No, or?

99. Protecting "Government of the People, by the People, for the People" against increasing perils from legislators by putting provisions in regard to such matters as are especially liable to be the subjects of corrupt legislation, for example, the drink traffic, gambling, Sunday work, impurity, monopolies, into the Constitution, where changes can be made only by consent of the people? Yes or No, or?

100. In place of or in addition to the above, the Initiative and Referendum, by which the people can at any time compel a vote or utter a veto in the State Legislature? Yes or No, or?

101. In place of or in addition to the above, prevention of hasty legislation by a constitutional provision that final legislative action on a proposed law can in no case be taken, or only in case of unanimous

consent, in less than three days from its first reading? Yes or No, or?

102. The essential features of "Ballot Reform," namely, the official ballot and secret voting? Yes 38, or No 0, or? 12.

103. Further election guards in the form of strict laws requiring the publication in detail of election expenses, and restricting their amount? Yes or No, or?

104. The application of the Australian ballot to all elections of Congressmen by a law of Congress? Yes 41, or No 0, or? 9.

105. A legal defense fund to secure prompt and efficient prosecution in the courts of all accused of election frauds, under direction of the Civil Service Commission or a kindred one? Yes 41, or No 2, or? 7.

106. Disfranchisement of every person convicted of participating in bribery or attempted bribery? Yes 36, or No 6, or? 8.

107. Compulsory public record of reasons for not voting by the absentees of each election—refusal to be punished by one year's disfranchisement for each refusal, or otherwise? Yes or No, or?

108. Denial of suffrage (to take effect in the beginning of the 20th century, the year 1901) to any person not previously a voter who cannot then read or write, and to foreigners who have not resided ten years in our country, and to persons convicted of drunkenness or any other crime during two years previous to the election in which they desire to vote? Yes 36, or No 3, or? 11.

109. Restriction of immigration from China *and all other foreign countries* by laws impartially shutting out all foreigners whom our consuls have not recommended as likely to make honest and self-supporting citizens, but no others? Yes 43, or No 4, or? 3.

110. The appointment of a non-partisan Immigration Commission, with large discretionary powers, to restrict and regulate immigration, in view of the timidity of partisan legislators and partisan administrators in dealing with this problem? Yes or No, or?

111. Woman suffrage, for election of school boards at least? Yes 20, or No 21, or? 9.

112. Woman suffrage, for city and town elections at least? Yes 4, or No 36, or? 10.

113. Woman suffrage, with no limitations except such as apply also to men? Yes 6, or No 39, or? 5.

114. Dealing with the "race problem" as in part a rum problem and in part a problem of education by the forced exile from the negroes of rum and ignorance, whatever else may be necessary? Yes 27, or No 6, or? 17.

115. Transforming Indian tribes into educated individual citizens, with necessary safeguards for a few years against sharpers? Yes 42, or No 1, or? 7.

116. Discontinuance of the military enlistment of Indians? Yes or No, or?

117. Statehood for Indian Territory? Yes or No, or?

118. Election of President and Vice-President by direct popular vote, with limitation to one term of six years? Yes or No, or?

119. Limitation of Governors and Mayors also to one prolonged term? Yes or No, or?

120. Proportional minority representation by cumulative preferential voting? Yes or No, or?

121. Settlement of contested election cases by a special court made up of all retired judges of the highest rank, in place of the legislative partisan majority? Yes or No, or ?

122. Civil service reform in the main? Yes 49, or No 0, or ? 1.

123. Adding total abstinence to the requirements for civil service (as it has been added in some cases to the requirements of railroad service)? Yes or No, or ?

124. A constitutional provision, in protection of the civil service against partisan or personal abuse, that in all cases where an officer is dismissed from such service, a public record of the reasons for such dismissal shall be filed? Yes or No, or ?

125. Forbidding all public officers to receive railway passes as indirect bribes, or else requiring transportation corporations to grant them in return for charter privileges? Yes or No, or ?

126. The election of a larger proportion of business men and fewer lawyers as legislators? Yes or No, or ?

127. Three-fourths verdict in jury trial in civil cases? Yes or No, or ?

128. Further jury reform to the extent of (1) making something less than a unanimous verdict sufficient to convict or acquit in criminal cases, and (2) providing for the panel being made up in an absolutely impartial manner, and (3) providing against the exclusion of persons of intelligence who have read about the case, but declare themselves able to hear the case impartially? Yes 41, or No 0, or ? 9.

129. Greater simplicity and celerity in court proceedings through the expression of laws in language easily understood by the people, prompt trials guaranteed by statute, with more equity and less of technicality and delays and appeals? Yes 46, or No 0, or ? 4.

130. Forbidding the detention of untried persons or witnesses for more than ten days before trial except by special order of court? Yes or No, or ?

131. Law and Order Leagues, uniting good citizens of all parties and creeds to enforce not only existing liquor laws, but also those against gambling, vice and Sabbath-breaking? Yes 49, or No 0, or ?1.

132. Special attention by such leagues to enforcing laws against the corruption of youth by lustful pictures, papers, books and exhibitions? Yes 49, or No 0, or ? 1.

133. Proclamations by Governors (similar to one in New Hampshire) calling attention of offenders and executive officers to neglected laws and insisting on their enforcement, in order that bad laws may be repealed, imperfect ones amended, and good ones utilized? Yes 49, or No 0, or ? 1.

134. Taking from Governors the pardoning power and vesting it in a commission or court of pardons? Yes 24, or No 10, or ? 16.

135. The appointment of police commissioners for great cities (as in Boston) by State rather than city authorities? Yes 14, or No 15, or ? 21.

136. Police matrons to take charge of female prisoners in station houses in all large cities? Yes or No, or ?

137. Separating city elections from all others and from party politics, and uniting all friends of law against the forces of lawlessness? Yes 38, or No 1, or ? 11.

138. Single headed city commissions and departments (as in Brooklyn)? Yes or No, or ?

139. Salaries for all city officials? Yes or No, or?

140. Forbidding sales of pistols except as poisons are sold, under careful restrictions? Yes or No, or?

141. Forbidding sale or gift of dynamite to or its possession by any person not licensed by public authorities to use it for industrial purposes? Yes or No, or?

142. Imprisonment for all second or third offences at least, rather than fine only? Yes or No, or?

143. Indefinite sentence in case of third or subsequent offence as "habitual criminal," with no subsequent release unless on parole? Yes or No, or?

144. The prompt punishment of murderers without regard to *sex?* Yes 46, or No 2, or? 2.

145. Abolition of capital punishment? Yes or No, or?

146. Electrocution rather than hanging? Yes 26, or No 7, or? 17.

147. Free trade at once? Yes or No, or?

148. Free trade, but gradually accomplished? Yes or No, or?

149. Tariff for revenue only? Yes or No, or?

150. Tariff for revenue chiefly, with temporary and diminishing protection? Yes or No, or?

151. Protective tariff, but with lower rates than McKinley Bill? Yes or No, or?

152. McKinley Bill in the main? Yes or No, or?

153. Non-partisan tariff reform by a commission similar to the Interstate Commerce Commission? Yes 32, or No 8, or? 10.

154. Large taxes on large legacies? Yes or No, or?

155. Graded taxation, the percentage increasing in proportion to wealth? Yes 28, or No 11, or? 11.

156. "The Single Tax" on land? Yes 1, or No 39, or? 10.

157. Taxation only on such property as can be found and appraised without any oath of the tax-payer, and on this at its actual selling value? Yes or No, or?

158. Unlimited free coinage of silver? Yes or No, or?

159. The single gold standard? Yes or No, or?

160. The issue of all paper money by the Government without the aid of national banks and the abolition of interest on government bonds, so putting them in the same class with greenbacks? Yes or No, or?

161. Vigorous action by our Government, in conjunction with other nations, in suppressing the slave trade and rum traffic in Africa and elsewhere among savage races? Yes 50, or No 0, or? 0.

162. The establishment by our Government securing concurrent action of leading nations, of an international court of arbitration for the authoritative settlement of international disputes? Yes 46, or No 1, or? 3.

VI. Miscellaneous.

163. Cremation? Yes or No, or ?
164. Phonetic spelling? Yes or No, or ?
165. Discountenancing the foreign habit of giving fees for services otherwise paid for? Yes or No, or ?
166. Suppression or great restriction of vivisection? Yes or No, or ?
167. Discontinuance of docking, of the check rein, and the use of birds for bonnet trimming? Yes or No, or ?

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Summary of Ballot.

Let the voter, having marked his answer to each question, if he desires to keep his ballot, fill out this summary and mail it or a copy of it to the address on the first page.

"Yes" to Nos.....
"Yes +" to Nos.....
"Yes —" to Nos.....
"No" to Nos.....
"?" (undecided) to Nos.....

Name :

P. O. address :

Occupation :

Votes to be classified by occupations and results reported.

Readers will please suggest reforms for above blanks.

REPORT OF BALLOT ON REFORMS AT PRINCETON SEMINARY.

Ninety-nine of the reforms in the ballot preceding were voted on by fifty students of Princeton Theological Seminary (same reforms as voted on several years before by fifty Oberlin seniors, with whom compare), the ballots being given out the week preceding the lectures, to be voted before hearing them, although by oversight they were not taken up until some of the lectures had been delivered. They are supposed, however, to represent the views of students before hearing the lectures. We give subjects abridged, with numbers for reference to the ballot for the questions in full :

1. Curfew—yes, 27 ; no, 8 ; ? 15 (? means undecided). 4. Abolishing "double standard" of purity—yes, 49 ; ? 1. 5. Age of consent twenty-one—yes, 33 ; no, 4 ; ? 13. 7. State regulation of vice to be forbidden—yes, 47 ; no, 1, 8. National divorce law—yes, 43 ; ? 7. 9. Divorce for one cause only—yes, 33 ; ? 7. 10. Prohibition of anarchistic speeches—yes, 45 ; no, 1 ; ? 4. 11. Publication of divorce proceedings forbidden—yes, 42 ; ? 8. 18. Dress reform—yes, 41 ; no, 2 ; ? 7. 20. Funeral reform—yes, 31 ; no, 6 ; ? 13. 22. Division of school fund resisted—yes, 49 ; ? 1. 24. Scientific temperance education—yes, 49 ; ? 1. 28. Manual education—yes, 43 ; ? 7. 29. Increased rhetorical teaching—yes, 44 ; ? 6. 30. State support of normal schools—yes, 40 ; no, 2 ; ? 8. 31. Of State universities—yes, 22 ; no, 5 ; ? 23. 32. Coeducation in colleges—yes, 33 ; no, 6. 37. Early closing —yes, 40 ; no, 1 ; ? 9. 38. Saturday half-holiday—yes, 42 ; ? 8. 39. Equal wages for men and women—yes, 43 ; no, 3 ; ? 4. 42. Government ownership of railroads—yes, 23 ; no, 7 ; ? 20. 43. Of telegraph and express—yes, 39 ; no, 3 ; ? 8. 44. City ownership of water and gas—yes, 39 ; no, 2 ; ? 9. 48. Complete nationalism—yes, 7 ; no, 10 ; ? 33. 49. Fair trade or free trade—yes, 26 ; no, 4 ; ? 20. 50. Eight-hour law—yes, 41 ; ? 9. 53. Public weigher—yes, 33 ; no, 3 ; ? 14. 54. Workhouse for incapables—yes, 41 ; no, 1 ; ? 5. 56. The "new charity"—yes, 48 ; ? 2. 57. Prison reform—yes, 49 ; ? 1. 59. Sixteenth amendment—yes, 48 ; no, 1 ; ? 1. 61. God in the constitution—yes, 37 ; no, 2 ; ? 11. 63. American Sabbath rather than Continental Sunday—yes, 50. 64. Sabbath rest for postmen, etc.—yes, 49 ; ? 1. 65. Sabbath law for Capital—yes, 49 ; ? 1. 67. At least half Sabbath for street car men—yes, 45 ; ? 5. 69. Partial Sabbath closing of drug stores—yes, 35 ; no, 4 ; ? 11. 70. Church discipline for Sunday camp meetings, etc.—yes, 47 ; no, 1 ; ? 2. 71. Suppression of Sunday paper huckstering—yes, 49 ; ? 1. 73. Removal of liquor screens—yes, 48 ; ? 2. 74. Forbidding sale of liquor and tobacco to minors—yes, 46 ; no, 2 ; ? 2. 75. Restricting saloons to 1 in 500—

yes, 44; no, 2; ? 4. 76. Anti-saloon laws—yes, 44; no, 2; ? 3. 79. Abolishing internal revenue—yes, 23; no, 11; ? 16. 80. National prohibition amendment—yes, 36; no, 8; ? 6. 81. Interstate commerce protection of prohibition States—yes, 46; no, 1 ? 3. 82. Total abstinence—yes, 49; ? 1. 83. Prohibition—yes, 40; no, 2; ? 8. 87. Stringent anti-lottery legislation, including abetting national banks—yes, 48; ? 2. 89. State laws against lottery ads—yes, 48; ? 2. 90. Guessing and voting chances to be treated as lotteries—yes, 47; ? 3, 91. Stringent laws against opium—yes, 48; ? 2. 93. Churches to be active in reform—yes, 38; no 6; ? 6. 94. Newspaper reform—yes, 46; ? 6. 101. Ballot reform—yes, 46; ? 4. 103. Ballot reform in Congressional elections by national law—yes, 36; no, 3; ? 11. 104. Legal defense fund for suffrage—yes, 41; no, 1; ? 8. 105. Disfranchisement for bribery—yes, 33; no, 5; ? 13. 107. Disfranchisement for drunkenness, etc.—yes, 24; no, 16; ? 10. 108. Impartial and strict immigration restrictions—yes, 44; no, 1; ? 5. 110. Educational woman suffrage—yes, 20; no, 15; ? 15. 111. Municipal woman suffrage—yes, 18; no, 14; ? 18. 112. Full woman suffrage—yes, 18; no, 20; ? 12. 113. Forced emigration of rum and ignorance from negroes—yes, 27; no, 1; ? 22. 114. Severalty for Indians—yes, 42; no, 2; ? 8. 121. Civil service reform—yes, 45; ? 5. 127. Jury reform—yes, 36; no, 7; ? 7. 128. Judiciary reform—yes, 48; ? 2. 130. Law and order leagues—yes, 49; ? 1. 131. Suppressing corrupt pictures—yes, 49; ? 1. 132. Governors' proclamations on neglected laws—yes, 47; ? 3. 133. Taking from governors power of pardon—yes, 34; no, 6; ? 10. 134. State police commissions—yes, 19; no, 7; ? 24. 136. Separating city elections from party politics—yes, 39; no, 2; ? 9. 143. No regard for sex in murder trials—yes, 48; no, 1; ? 1. 145. Electrocutions—yes, 26; no, 6; ? 24. 152. Non-partisan tariff commission—yes, 39; no, 1; ? 10. 154. Graded taxation—yes, 34; no, 5; ? 11. 155. Single tax—yes, 7; no, 12; ? 21. 160. Suppression of slave and rum traffic in Africa—yes, 47; no, 1; ? 2. 161. International court of arbitration—yes, 47; ? 3.

BRIEF READING COURSE IN PRACTICAL CHRISTIAN SOCIOLOGY.

It would be easy to fill a volume with the titles of standard books and valuable articles germane to this theme, but our aim is to suggest a course of reading that will give a busy preacher or active Christian layman an outlook upon this subject for the smallest possible expenditure of time and money. The books following the dash, as a second section under each topic, have been added since this reading course was first published with the original syllabus, to extend the course for those who can read more on any or all the subjects, as is desirable whenever possible. Some will wish to be as thorough in sociology as in theology, as God's Sinaitic autograph gives them equal space.

INTRODUCTORY.—Professor A. W. Small and George E. Vincent, *Introduction to the Study of Society;* American Book Co., $1.50. Dr. William Howe Tolman and Professor W. I. Hull, *Handbook of Sociological Information;* City Vigilance League, 427 West Fifty-seventh Street, New York, $1.10.

I. FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE CHURCH.—Benjamin Kidd, *Social Evolution;* Macmillan, $1.75, 25c. Charles Loring Brace, *Gesta Christi, or Humane Progress;* Armstrong, $1.50. Dr. Josiah Strong, *The New Era;* Baker & Taylor Co., 60c., 35c. Professor Richard T. Ely, *Social Aspects of Christianity;* Crowell, 90c. Professor J. R. Commons, *Social Reform and the Church;* Crowell, 75c. Professor George A. Herron, *The New Redemption;* Revell, 75c. Dr. Washington Gladden, *The Church and the Kingdom;* Revell, 50c. *Christianity Practically Applied,* 2 vols.; *Reports of Evangelical Alliance Congress in Chicago;* Baker & Taylor Co., $2.00 each. Professor A. G. Warner, *American Charities;* Crowell, $1.50. *Handbook of Friendly Visitors Among the Poor;* Putnams, 50c. Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell, *Public Relief and Private Charity;* Putnams, 40c. Report on Penny Provident Fund, Loan Association, etc., from New York Charity Organization Society, Charities Building, New York; *Charities Review,* $1.00 per year. Reports and leaflets of following institutional churches: Berkeley Temple, Boston; Pilgrim Church, Worcester; Tabernacle, Jersey City; St. George's, St. Bartholomew's, Judson Memorial, all of New York; Pilgrim Church, Cleveland. Documents of Christian Social Union, Dean Hodges, secretary, Cambridge, Mass.; of American Institute of Christian Sociology, Dr. William Howe Tolman, secretary, Charities Building, New York; of King's Daughters, 158 West Twenty-third Street, New York. *The Kingdom,* Minneapolis.

Canon W. H. Freemantle, *The World the Subject of Redemption;* Longmans, Green & Co., New York, $2.00. Canon B. F. Westcott, *Social Aspects in Christianity,* Macmillan, $1.50. Same, *The Incarnation in Common Life;* Macmillan, $2.50. T. Herbert Stead, *The Kingdom of God;* T. & T. Clark, 60c. W. E. H. Lecky, *History of European Morals;* Appleton. Ulhorn, *Ancient, Medieval, and Modern Charity,* 3 vols. J. P. Kelly, *The Law of Service.* Rev. B. Fay Mills, *God's World;* Revell, $1.25. President William D. Hyde, *Outlines of Social Theology;* Macmillan, $1.50.

II. From the Standpoint of the Family and Education.—(1) The Family.—Dr. Joseph Cook, *Marriage;* Houghton, Miffin & Co., $1.50. Report on Divorce; U. S. Department of Labor, free. Reports and documents of National Divorce Reform League, Rev. Dr. S. W. Dike, secretary, Auburndale, Mass. (In sending to societies for reports one should enclose a contribution for its work, or at least postage.) D. Convers, *Marriage and Divorce;* Lippincott, $1.50. Professor W. C. Wilkinson, *The Dance of Modern Society;* Funk & Wagnalls, 50c. Anthony Comstock, *Traps for the Young;* Funk & Wagnalls, $1.00. *Art vs. Morals;* Ogilvie & Co., New York, 10c. Dr. J. W. Clokey, *Dying at the Top;* W. W. Vanarsdale, Chicago, 25c. Publications of American Purity Alliance, 39 Nassau Street, New York. Purity leaflets of W. C. T. U., Chicago. J. A. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives,* $1.50; *The Children of the Poor,* $2.50; Scribner. Mrs. Helen Campbell, *Prisoners of Poverty,* 50c.; *Women Wage Earners,* $1.00; Roberts Bros. *A Haunted House* (Hampton Health Tract); Putnams, 8c. Dr. Henry Clay Trumbull, *Hints on Child-training;* John D. Wattles & Co., Philadelphia. Miss Frances E. Willard, Last Annual Report; also *The Union Signal* (devoted to women's Christian work in all lands), Chicago. U. S. Department of State, Consular Report 117, June, 1890, describing municipal artisans' dwellings in Liverpool. Riverside Buildings pamphlet of Improved Dwellings Co., 20 Joralemon Street, Brooklyn. U. S. Department of Labor, Special Reports on Housing Working People in Europe, and on Slums of American Cities.

E. Westermack, *The History of Human Marriage;* Macmillan, 14s. C. N. Starke, *The Primitive Family;* Appleton, $1.75. National Woman Suffrage Association pamphlets; address care of *Woman's Journal,* Boston. M. Ostrogorski, *The Rights of Women;* Swan Sonnenschein & Co., London; Scribners, New York, $1.00. Dr. M. L. Holbrook, N. Y., *Chastity,* 50c.

(2) EDUCATION.—Reports of National Commissioner of Education. R. H. Quick, *Educational Reformers;* Kindergarten Literature Co., The Temple, Chicago, $1.50. Mrs. Mary Chisholm Foster, *The Kindergarten;* Hunt & Eaton, $1.00. Reports of Children's Aid Societies of New York and Philadelphia; of State School for Dependent Children, Coldwater, Mich.; of Elmira Reformatory; of Industrial Education Association, 21 University Place, New York; of New York Trade Schools (Colonel R. I. Auchmuty), Sixty-seventh and Sixty-eighth Streets, New York; of American Society for Extension of University Teaching, Fifteenth and Sanson Streets, Philadelphia; of University Settlements as follows: Andover House, 9 Rollins Street, Boston; Epworth League House, Hull Street, Boston; University Settlement, 26 Delancy Street, New York; College Settlement (Women's Colleges), 95 Rivington Street, New York; Princeton House, Philadelphia; Hull House, Chicago; Chicago Commons, etc.

C. M. Woodward, *The Manual Training School;* D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, $2.00. Florence D. Hill, *Children of the State;* Macmillan, $1.75.

III., IV.—FROM THE STANDPOINT OF CAPITAL AND LABOR.—Joseph Mazzini, *Duties of Man* (Letters to Working Men); Funk & Wagnalls Co., 15c. Professor R. T. Ely, *Outlines of Economics*, college edition; Hunt & Eaton, $1.25. Arnold Toynbee, *Lectures on Industrial Revolution;* Humboldt Publishing Co., New York, $1, 60c. Alfred Marshall, *Economics of Industry;* Macmillan, New York, $1.50. Thomas Carlyle (extracts), *Socialism and Unsocialism*, 2 vols.; Humboldt Publishing Co., New York, 25c. each. John Ruskin (extracts), *The Communism of John Ruskin;* Humboldt Publishing Co., New York, 25c. W. C. Owen, *The Economics of Herbert Spencer;* Humboldt Publishing Co., 25c. Henry George, *Progress and Poverty;* Henry George & Co., $1, 35c. Charles Sotheran, *Horace Greeley, Socialist;* Humboldt Publishing Co., 25c. A. E. T. Schaeffle, *The Essence of Socialism;* Humboldt Publishing Co., New York, 15c. *Fabian Essays;* Humboldt Publishing Co., 25c. *Fabian Tract No. 51, Socialism True and False;* Fabian Society, 276 Strand, London, 2c. John Stuart Mill (extracts), *Socialism;* Humboldt Publishing Co., 25c. Edward Bellamy, *Looking Backward;* Houghton, Mifflin, 50c. Professor R. T. Ely, *Socialism and Social Problems;* Crowell, $1.50. Dr. A. J. F. Behrends, *Socialism and Christianity;* Baker & Taylor Co., $1.50. Dr. Joseph Cook, *Labor, Socialism*, 2 vols.; Houghton, etc., $1.50 each. President E. B. Andrews, *Wealth and Moral Law;* Hartford Seminary Press, 60c.

Dr. Washington Gladden, *Working People and their Employers;* Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York, $1. Rev. Charles Roads, *Christ Enthroned in the Industrial World;* Hunt & Eaton, New York, $1. J. E. Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages;* Humboldt, etc., 25c. U. S. Department of Labor Reports on Chicago Strike, Profit-Sharing, Building and Loan Associations, etc. House of Representatives Report 2309, on Sweating. William Traut, *Trades Unions;* American Federation of Labor, Indianapolis, 10c. Rev. William Booth, *Darkest England and the Way Out;* Funk & Wagnalls, $1.50, 50c. *Darkest England Social Scheme*, 30c.; Salvation Army Headquarters, 111 Reade Street, New York. Reports of American Social Science Association; F. B. Sanborn, secretary, Concord, Mass.; Putnams. *Annals of the American Academy;* Philadelphia, Station B, bi-monthly, sent only to members of Academy. Reports of Interstate Commerce Commission. Sociological Department, *Homiletic Review*. Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, *Cyclopedia of Social Reforms;* Funk & Wagnalls Co., $6 (in press).

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Liberty or Liquor.

On Labor Reform.

Labor's Day. (Labor Day Address, originally prepared for United Trades of St. Paul.)

On the Four Testaments.

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The Fraternity of Reforms.

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(INCLUDING BIBLE INDEX.)

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[It would form an interesting exercise for a Current Topics Club, or other sociological society, to devote one or more evenings to a sociological tour round the world, each of the countries and cities named being assigned to some one for a three-minute report of progress. This would be especially timely for Thanksgiving or Watch Night. The Biblical Index and Index of Authors might be made helpful in a similar manner; also the topical index following. This would enlist many in sociological studies who could not prepare elaborate essays, and would furnish an interesting variety of brief hints as to the preparation of such essays.]

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* On Sept. 11, 1895, New York Central railway train made run 436½ miles (New York to East Buffalo), in 407 minutes, an average of 64⅓ miles per hour, beating best English record of 63⅝ miles per hour.

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P. S.—The author, on completing this index, October 4, 1895, offers devout thanks to God that he has been enabled to complete this task, which was interrupted one year ago by a serious five months' sickness, whose providential purpose may well have been to afford him such an opportunity to ponder all sides of the complex social problems discussed in these pages as could not have been afforded by a year of uninterrupted reform campaigning. Such campaigning has, however, prompted the book, because it has impressed the author profoundly with the conviction that what is needed everywhere is more light in order to have more life. May this book be one ray in the divine answer to the Psalmist's prayer, "O Lord, send out thy light and thy truth."

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